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THE CITY

An Inquiry

INTO THE CORPORATION, ITS LIVERY COMPANIES,
AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF THEIR CHARITIES AND ENDOWMENTS

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

FROM the numerous books which, from time to time, have been written respecting the abuses and anomalies to be found in the administration of affairs in the City of London, the reader may naturally look upon another bearing on the same subject as a work of supererogation. Upon further investigation, however, he may, as we have done, arrive at the conclusion that, glaring as have been the defects already brought under the notice of the public, others may be quoted equally grave which have hitherto been passed over with comparatively little censure. But even if the present venture has but scant claim to originality of subject, it has been the earnest endeavour of the author to treat it in a manner somewhat different from the works already alluded to, so as, if possible, to attract the attention of the reader, if from no better reason than its novelty alone. When others have written on the abuses existing in the municipality of the City of London, especially those which are to be detected in the application of the funds in the possession of the livery companies or trade guilds,

they are generally answered by replies so full of legal quibbles and plausible sophistries that the imagination of the reader becomes fatigued before he has been able to arrive at any settled conclusion; and the subject gradually fades from his mind, or at any rate it loses all its interest. Even with those authors who treat the subject from a moral or religious point of view, the result is in general but little better. With the exception of the Rev. William Rogers, rector of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, and one or two others of the clergy, that body, which ought to consider themselves the natural guardians of the rights of the poor, seem, as a rule, entirely indifferent to the subject, and the abuses of the City charitable endowments, both parochial and corporate, remain undisturbed, while those interested in the present state of things point to the apathy of the clergy as a proof that the administration of these charities leaves nothing to be desired.

The novelty mentioned as the great characteristic of our treatment of the subject is simply as follows. Instead of attempting to prove the injustice inflicted on the inhabitants of the metropolis in general and the poor in particular by legal arguments, as from his ignorance of the law the author might, by the attempt, do more harm than good to the cause in which he is so deeply interested, he proposes to place before the reader some of the results of our metropolitan civic legislation, prefaced by a short description of some of the acts of the Corporation during the last five-and-twenty years, and the results which have accrued from them, thus

leaving the reader to judge of the tree by its fruits. Should he approve of the results of the (City) legislation as they will be spread truthfully before him, no harm will be done to him or to us, as from a simple statement of facts there is little room for legal sophistry to develop itself. If, on the contrary, he should be convinced, as we trust he will be, that the grossest injustice has been inflicted not only upon the metropolitan community at large, especially Christ's legatees, the poor, it is hoped that his honest expression of indignation will not be the sole result, but that he will endeavour to assist personally in the movement, which probably will be brought soon before the public, to eradicate or modify the abuses to be found in the municipal legislation of the City of London.

In the first place, then, we hold that the government of no capital in the world enjoys a reputation so far above its merits as that of the ancient City of London. That its admirers are many is true; but the majority of these, and the most energetic in its praises, are directly or indirectly interested in the continuance of its abuses. Then, again, there are those who behold it from a distance, and being unscathed by its abuses are comparatively indifferent on the subject, and willing to believe anything said in its favour; who, as well as foreigners, accept as established facts the mendacious compliments heaped on its management in speeches by guests at civic feasts, and reported, more or less accurately, by the public press. According to the speeches of its flatterers, the City properly so called might be

held forward as a model for all other capitals to imitate; while those Londoners who view it from another point—and their name is legion—denounce its institutions and their management as being open to the gravest reprobation. In fact, there is no medium to be found between the description given of it by its admirers and its adversaries, and yet both parties strenuously assert the truth of their statements, and that with so much courage and energy that it would be unjust to say either was not speaking from honest convictions, though it is clear one side or the other must be in error.

Such being the case, it must be obvious that to convince either would be an impossibility. At the same time the author, as before stated, considers that there does not exist upon the face of the earth a spot where tyranny and dishonesty are more rampant than in the City of London, or where grosser cruelty or injustice has been, and is now, practised on the poor and industrial classes; that cruelty and injustice increasing in intensity as the condition in life of the victim is the less able to support it. Nay, more, that these acts of injustice are not practised in secret by the class of men who merely possess a second-rate reputation for honesty, but by those City magnates who loudly assert their possession of that virtue, and yet openly set public opinion at defiance—their actions in the matter of civic legislation being, as a rule, legalised by our laws.

To make the enormous and barefaced injustice practised by our civic authorties stand out in still stronger relief, the reader should some day cast his eye over a

newspaper report when it narrates the proceedings which took place at some City guild feast, and the speeches which were made on the occasion. Would it be possible to compliment the City, its philanthropy, its management, and its enormous wealth in more eulogistic terms? The majority of the speeches seem all cast in one mould, their principal ingredient being outrageous flattery on the enlightened and influential body of men
|| the speaker has the honour of addressing, when, perhaps, returning thanks for the high compliment done him (no matter whether prime minister or commander-in-chief, a duke or any other dignitary) in drinking his health. With all this there is a certain amount of the ludicrous mixed up, which goes far to redeem the bad taste of such abject flattery. But when the health of the judges or bishops (and there is generally at least one of each invited) is proposed, the case is very different. Then the ludicrous is lost in the painful. No two classes of dignitaries are more respected by the public at large, and our feelings are shocked to find that men of such eminence, and in such professions, should be so employed. Neither the judge nor the bishop seems to have the slightest idea that he has been invited there but to cast an air of justice and morality over proceedings which, if properly investigated, would be found to be utterly destitute of both qualifications.

Each judge or bishop in his turn seems to be unaware or indifferent to the possibility that the enormous cost of the dinner alone of which he is partaking was obtained

by means verging, perhaps, on absolute dishonesty, by appropriating funds placed in the hands of the particular guild for trade purposes and charity, when, it may be, there is not a member present who is employed in the trade or craft which bears its name. Let us first state the case of the judge. If the reader will wade through the report of his speech, and give it his cool attention, he must be struck with surprise that a man of education and shrewd observation, as our judges as a rule indisputably are, could listen with calmness and patience to the amount of fulsome adulation "poured into his ear against the stomach of his sense," or how he could, without disgust, swallow the loathsome flattery, hot from the mouth of some alderman, with which the toast is larded. "How the proposer is overwhelmed with pride at the honour of bringing the toast placed in his hands under the notice of those assembled! Would that he could do so in a manner to do it justice, or that it had been placed in abler hands than his!" The speaker then goes on in the regular stereotyped fashion, laying on his vapid compliments with the usual execrable civic taste, exalting the British judge above all other judges on the face of the earth, at the same time framing his words in such a manner as to insinuate that the practice of taking bribes or giving dishonest judgments was, as a rule, openly practised by the foreign judges with unblushing effrontery. "That our laws were the summit of human wisdom, and were administered by judges who were the envy and admiration of surrounding nations. Rich and

poor stood on an equality before them; the poorest was never deprived of his right to an honest upright judgment, nor were the richest and most powerful able to make an English judge swerve from the honest discharge of his duties."

The answer of the judge to the toast proposing his health is generally in little better taste as to its composition than the language of the alderman who proposed it. Of course he complimented the City of London on the law-abiding spirit of its population, which he could only attribute to its admirable institutions and the example set to the working classes by those who employed them. The virtues of our working classes are then generally mentioned in their turn, and, by way of raising them still higher, a contrast is frequently drawn between them and the working classes in foreign countries—of course vastly to the credit of our countrymen—and, especially, that we might indeed be proud that those sanguinary scenes which are so common in Paris and other continental cities never occurred among us. The judge might have added, and with perfect truth, that the whole of the City working classes have been driven from it by those who employed them, while the charities they inherited have been torn from them and given, in an enormous majority of cases, to those who were in affluence, or at least above want. Perhaps it may be said that our judges are not cognizant of this foul and dishonest despotism on the part of the Corporation of the City of London and the livery companies,

and yet it would be an easy task to name more than one of their number who are or have been members of City companies, and especially those companies which have taken the most active part in such transactions.

The part the bishop takes in these proceedings is scarcely less offensive than that of the judge—not so much, however, from what he says, as from the painful reminiscences of the indifference shown by the City clergy in allowing others, without opposition, to warp from their original uses the enormous funds left for the benefit of the poor, as well as in allowing the vast endowments existing for their education to be, without a murmur of indignation, either wasted or applied to the benefit of those whose parents are fully able to educate them without encroaching on any charitable funds for the purpose. The phraseology of the rev. lord, however, when returning thanks, is generally harmless enough. He reminds his hearers of their responsibilities, both religious and moral; he compliments them on the fact that the City is alike the centre of wealth and charity, where the interests of the great producers of wealth—the industrial classes—are treated with the justice due to them, and their welfare, both temporal and spiritual, watched over in a righteous and paternal manner. So far from this being true, the industrial classes—and in that term we comprise all those whose earnings do not exceed £200 a year—have, on the contrary, been treated with the foulest injustice. Their dwellings, bad enough, it is true, have been demolished, and the tenants have

been driven away without one question being asked whither they were going or where they expected to find the shelter of a roof, their oppressors complimenting themselves that the well-to-do portion of the population would no longer be shocked by the unsightly scenes which had frequently met their eyes in the particular locality being operated on at the time.

A certain City magnate, when questioned as to the present abodes of some hundreds of poor creatures who had lately been ejected from their homes in the vicinity of Bishopsgate Street, replied, "I know nothing at all about them. All I know is, we have got rid of them out of the City; let those that they are now among make the best of them they can; we have had enough of them." Nor was there anything extraordinary in this gentleman's remarks; expressions of the kind are very common in the mouths of your civic authorities. Yet, after all, bad as the houses were from which these tenants were ejected, they had still, in common with others of the same description, roofs of some sort over them; and if every room sheltered too many, still it did cover them; and, in common humanity, some other shelter ought to have been provided for them before they were driven away. Provision of the kind would have been made for them in Paris; but, perhaps, we may be told, as is frequent in the case of City dinners, that all foreign municipal administration is decidedly inferior to our own, and also utterly corrupt, so we had better leave that part of the subject untouched. All we maintain is, that before these improve-

ments in the City proper or elsewhere were commenced, some shelter ought to have been provided for those about to be ejected; but such an idea seems never to have entered the heads of the Corporation or livery companies of the City of London.

Before we touch on the manifold abuses and iniquities which abound in the City of London, and which, the reader should understand, is the whole space within the City boundaries or walls, it would, perhaps, assist him in forming a better conception of the facts about to be placed before him if the author dedicated a few pages to a description of some of the alterations which have of late years taken place, not only in its streets and buildings, but also in its municipal administration, as he will thereby be better able to appreciate the gross acts of injustice which have lately been perpetrated on the poorer and working classes. It will also assist him in better understanding the gross mass of corruption and dishonesty which, in spite of plausible excuses and specious sophisms, is still abundant in it, especially in those departments under the authority of the municipal officials and livery companies.

During the first thirty years of the present century, the City, by the great extension of its commercial enterprise and the increase of its wealth, tempted a vast number of strangers, principally of the working classes, to reside in it, till it became in many parts exceedingly overcrowded. At that time the City proper was divided into no fewer than ninety-eight parishes, each maintaining its own poor. Commerce

and wealth continuing to increase, greater space was of course required for the offices of our City merchants and bankers, and new buildings were erected in a far more magnificent style, as well as of greater dimensions, than those they replaced. One natural result which followed was an enormous increase of the value of land in the City, especially in the neighbourhood of the Bank and the Royal Exchange. It may be easily imagined that the poorer inhabitants residing in the vicinity, who had been ejected from their homes by these alterations, attempted to settle as closely as possible to the spot from which they had been driven, so as to be near to the scene of their daily occupation. Those among them who were the better remunerated for their work generally settled in the streets eastward of the present Post Office and St. Martin's-le-Grand, or in the neighbourhood near, but principally north of, the City Road. But perhaps the greater number sought for shelter in the neighbourhood of the present Farringdon Street and Road, extending from nearly the City side of the Thames near Blackfriars Bridge to Clerkenwell. The demolition of buildings to erect larger in the City near the Bank produced the most distressing effects in the locality of Farringdon Road. Not only had the population for some years previous increased so rapidly that there was hardly shelter to be found for those it contained; but when the numbers ejected from the central districts were added, the whole became so crowded together that at length the attention of the public was attracted to it, without, however,

for many years making any impression on the civic authorities. Nay, more, it almost seemed that their contempt and indifference to the subject increased in proportion as the misery and degradation of the poor creatures ejected were the greater.

But another element entered into the misery and suffering of the overcrowded inhabitants of the Farringdon Street district which deserves a special notice. In London, as in all other cities of Europe, apart from private acts of benevolence, are different institutions made for the relief of the poor in times of distress, and no capital in the world possesses richer charitable endowments for the purpose than the City of London. But apart from the City guilds, charitable trusts, and parochial charities, there was also the poor law, and, after all, this was considered the natural means of relief for all those in a state of destitution. In fact, according to its original conception, the poor law might properly be regarded as a regulated almsgiving of the community, at the same time armed with the power of compelling those to give who would otherwise evade their responsibilities to their poorer fellow-citizens. Now London, as before stated, was divided, some forty years ago, into ninety-eight parishes, each parish, beyond its particular charitable endowments and institutions, maintaining its own poor under the action of the poor law. It would therefore, at first sight, appear that the whole of the City poor, although they might be greatly overcrowded, and thereby obliged to live in a dirty and degraded manner, had

nothing to complain of on the score of want of liberality among the rich. Never was there a greater fallacy. More sordid avarice, more cold-blooded cruelty and injustice, than the poor of the overcrowded parishes received from the richer in the distribution of the civic charitable endowments, as well as the poor law as it stood in 1850, could not be found in the municipal history of Europe. More than that, whenever a poor parish was smarting under some gross act of injustice which had been inflicted on it by a richer, an application was made to the law for redress, and, in nine cases out of ten, judgment was given against the weaker and the poorer.

To describe the different acts of injustice practised by the richer parishes upon the poorer would occupy too much space to narrate at any length. A few instances must suffice. For example, the method the rich parish employed, if not habitually, at any rate very frequently, to relieve themselves of their liabilities is really worthy of remark, as tending to prove how a humanely-intentioned law could be perverted from its original purposes; and yet, under the opinion of our law authorities, the injustice perpetrated would be found perfectly legal. Take, for example, any wealthy parish in the centre of the City, in which a poor, broken-down, poverty-stricken creature might, under the then poor law, have applied for a night's lodging; as a rule, the official would endeavour to find some excuse for evading the responsibility; but if the man persisted, he would receive, perhaps, a shilling, with

the understanding that he should go on to Farringdon Street or any other poor locality, and there demand his night's lodging. It might seem to the reader that the shilling so given would easily have procured the applicant a bed even in the parish he was then in; but there was another and far stronger reason for sending him farther afield. As the law then stood, in whatever parish a pauper had last slept, and before he became an incubus on the rates, with a right to permanent relief, the parochial authorities were obliged to assist him for the moment, and then, at the cost of the parishioners, to send him to his legal settlement, which occasionally was both difficult and expensive to find, frequently costing from fifty to a hundred pounds, and from this sum the richer parish from which the pauper had received the shilling was exempt, the poorer having to pay the whole.

In order to mitigate this cruelty, a law was then passed which formed the City into three unions, each union to maintain its own poor from a common rate. But civic ingenuity was quite equal to the occasion. The guardians of the City unions agreed together to build their wards for the reception of casual paupers at Bow, some five miles distant, and the result was, that when a broken-down tramp received an order for a night's lodging, he rarely reached Bow, but stopped at Whitechapel or some other poor parish on the road, and thus the City was quit of him.

Respecting the condition of the City parishes prior to their formation into three unions, the contrasts which

might be drawn between the amounts levied for the relief of the poor would occasionally verge closely on the ridiculous. For example, the parish of St. Michael's, Cornhill, paid a rate of only one penny in the pound, while another in Farringdon Street paid five shillings. The parish of St. Christopher-le-Stock, containing the Bank of England, paid one-tenth part of a farthing in the pound on an assessment of one half its value, while the parish of St. Ann's, Blackfriars, containing the space between Ludgate Hill and the river-side, paid eight shillings, and the greater part of this amount was levied on persons scarcely above poverty themselves. Nothing was more frequent than for a number of the poorer ratepayers to have lodgers in their rooms who at the moment were in receipt of parochial relief. The amount paid by this unfortunate parish would have reduced it to a state of bankruptcy had it not been for a few large establishments in it, and these, by the way, employed but little labour, and that, as a rule, so well paid as to place them far above the necessity of parochial relief. Of these, the Apothecaries' Hall paid £124 per annum direct to the relief of the poor, and the *Times* newspaper office £240.

That our statement—that these contrasts sometimes verged on the ridiculous—is true, may be shown by the following facts out of many which might be quoted. The parish of St. Bartholomew the Great, containing the Royal Exchange, as well as the Stock Exchange, had, some forty years since, but one pauper, an old man, who was comfortably boarded and lodged some

twenty miles from town. Of course the parish possessed its board of guardians as well as other parochial officials to look after his welfare, and one of the pleasant events of each year was to make, formally, an excursion into the country to visit this fortunate pauper, and see that he was cared for in a proper manner. For some years he continued in remarkably robust health, and the board of guardians continued, as in duty bound, their annual visits of inspection, when one day they received the intelligence that their old friend had died suddenly. They most conscientiously lamented the event, though their sorrow was not altogether aroused by the pauper's death nor by the loss of their annual trip. Another element was mixed with it; for by the law as it then stood, whenever it came to pass that a parish had no poor of its own, it was liable to be joined to some more heavily burdened parish in the same neighbourhood. The guardians of the poor of the parish of St. Bartholomew the Great, whose rate did not exceed one penny in the pound, now looked anxiously around them to discover a parishioner poor enough for parochial relief. None, however, was to be found, and as a last resource the guardians of St. Bartholomew the Great were driven to the painful necessity of advertising for a pauper, though for some time without success.

Hundreds of other cruelties and absurdities existed in the administration of the poor law in the City of London prior to the formation of the three City unions. But to narrate them, even shortly, would occupy too

much space, and we will now instead bring under the notice of the reader some of the effects resulting from them, first, by the cruel overcrowding of the poor, and then obliging them—even in the time of their distress—to relieve each other, notwithstanding the excessive poverty of the poorer parishes—a fact perfectly well known to the civic authorities, both through the voice of public opinion and the newspaper press. The demolition, however, of second and third class houses in the richer parishes continued without abatement, and in consequence the overcrowding of the poorer districts became even denser than before. The complaints of the parish officials, especially the medical officers, were so loud, that none but the Corporation of the City of London, including its principal officials, could have remained callous or deaf to the existing state of things. At length a circumstance occurred which fully proved to the Lord Mayor, aldermen, and others, the necessity of immediate and energetic action, and this motive power was no other than the visitation of the cholera. The attack over, they immediately commenced operations. After having deliberated for a short time, they resolutely determined to destroy all the houses in the present Farringdon Road line, as that district was more overcrowded than any other in the City. And their resolution was not only carried out to the letter, but before they had finished their labours they had far exceeded their original determination. Every house in the line was demolished, and more than forty thousand of the working classes were driven from the locality, not

a thought having been given by the destroyers as to where those ejected were to find shelter. Of those driven away a vast number settled in Clerkenwell, beyond the City boundaries; others went over to the Surrey side into Lambeth and Southwark; others of the more intelligent among them endeavoured to find lodgings in Holborn, St. Ann's, Blackfriars, and other localities where house-rent was likely to be within their means, even though the accommodation afforded might be small.

The reader might imagine, from a vast number of the working classes still anxious to obtain dwellings in the City, as well as the shopkeepers dependent on them for their custom, and the immense space of ground laid bare by the demolitions—a space, in fact, larger than would have held many second-class cities in England—that building operations would soon commence. Those who imagined anything of the kind evidently knew very little of the Corporation of the City of London. Every man among them, aldermen, common councilmen, and every other official, set his face against any proceedings of the kind, and the whole space of ground at last acquired the name of the Farringdon Street wastes. For some time the whole line of road remained barren and profitless, notwithstanding the fact that many builders from time to time made offers for it. Each in his turn had, however, his offer rejected, till at length the patience of the speculators became exhausted, and the Corporation was no longer troubled in the matter. Their poorer fellow-citizens who had

dwelt in the houses had been driven away, and what more could be wanted?

But after a rest of some years the slumber of the metropolitan authorities was again broken, and their energies called once more into action, not in any manner to improve the condition of the many poor who still remained on the skirts of the line of projected road, but to adopt measures similar to those which had been so effectual on former occasions—in other words, to drive them away altogether. But an excuse had to be found which might offer some justification for such a proceeding. To project a new line of road (the principal reason brought forward for the Farringdon Road demolition) would hardly do in the present instance, as no improvement was at the time required. Another reason was now given, and one which certainly carried with it a good excuse—the degraded manner in which the inhabitants were crowded together, and the sanitary improvements absolutely required to guarantee the metropolis against an outbreak of fever or pestilence. Nor, it must be admitted, were some stringent and strong reformations unnecessary. Bad as Farringdon Road had formerly been, it was far superior to what was to be found in the localities now proposed to be destroyed. It would be a difficult matter to give the reader any adequate description of the different courts and alleys marked out for demolition. The best notion which may be formed of them may be found in the reports of the City sanitary inspectors and parochial and medical officers. From the many quotations which might be

given, we will adduce one or two, commencing with an extract from one of Dr. Letheby's reports on the subject.

"To say nothing of the too frequent occurrence of what may be considered necessitous overcrowding, where the husband and wife and young family of four or five children are crammed into one miserably small ill-conditioned room, there are numerous instances where adults of both sexes belonging to different families are lodging in the same room, regardless of all the common decencies of life, and where from three to five grown up men and women, with a train or two of three children, are accustomed to herd together like brute beasts or savages, where all the offices of nature are performed in the most public and offensive manner, and where every human instinct of propriety or decency is smothered. Like my predecessor, I have seen grown-up persons of both sexes sleeping in common with their parents, brothers and sisters, cousins, and even the casual acquaintance of a day's tramp, occupying the same filthy bed of rags; a woman suffering from travail in the midst of males and females of different families that tenant the same room, where birth and death go hand in hand—where the child newly born, the patient cut down from fever, and the corpse waiting for interment have no separation from each other or the rest of the inmates. Among many of the cases I have alluded to, there are some which have impressed themselves on my attention by their utter depravity — cases where from three to four

adults of both sexes were found sleeping in the same bed."

We are not squeamish, but with a most sincere admiration for the learned doctor, we must, out of respect for our readers, decline going into further details of his report.

Respecting the mortality among the infant population of the City (and in fact many of the poorer districts of the metropolis) twenty years since, let us quote as an authority Dr. Ross of Farringdon Street—a gentleman who, in ability, integrity, and knowledge of the subject, was not to be surpassed by Dr. Letheby himself:—

"The numerous courts and alleys in this neighbourhood perfectly swarm with children; but so fearful is the mortality, from want of proper food and attention, that not more than one in five of those born ever reach five years of age. Their state is truly pitiable; it is a shame and disgrace to a Christian country."

Dr. Ross further stated that among the enormous number of the inhabitants of the City who had come under his notice, including the forty thousand already ejected from Farringdon Road, he had never found a third generation; or, in other words, an individual who had reached twenty years of age whose father and grandfather had been born in the locality.

The ejections and demolitions decided on at last commenced, but the Corporation said not a word about replacing the houses destroyed with better-class dwellings. At length public indignation was aroused

through the medium of the press, and expressed itself so loudly and emphatically, that even the civic authorities could no longer be indifferent to it, and they promised to take the subject of erecting fresh dwellings for those ejected into their serious consideration. Still nothing was done till the year 1861, when, on the 7th of March, Mr. Charles Pearson so forcibly brought the subject under the notice of the Common Council, that, after some time debating, the following resolution was arrived at:—

"The noble street improvements undertaken by the Corporation having swept, and are about to sweep, away thousands of artizans and mechanics from their humble dwellings, to make way for the spacious streets and splendid warehouses to take their place; to supply the lack of dwellings these wholesale clearances create, the Corporation have determined to vote a sufficient sum of money to purchase land and erect lodging-houses in the neighbourhood."

Here certainly appeared, on the part of the Corporation, a step in the right direction. The City had promised, nay, voted, the money, and had even gone so far as to purchase the site, at a cost of some twenty-five thousand pounds. They then waited nine years; public indignation in the meantime died gradually away, and the philanthropists were soothed; nay, more, the members of the Corporation were much complimented for their liberality. But having waited until it might be hoped the pledge would be forgotten, in place of building the lodging-houses promised, the

City sold the land at a very enhanced price to the Metropolitan Railway Company for warehouses and works. It was estimated up to the year 1861, when the last demolitions were completed, that the number of artizans and their families who had been ejected from the Farringdon Road districts alone could not have been less than fifty thousand, and the only retribution or compensation the Corporation offered was the above-named promise, which was dishonourably broken. There is, however, one transaction of very late date, which ought in common justice to be placed to the credit of the Corporation. Some three years since, when public indignation had been again aroused at the ruthless manner the industrial classes were year after year driven out of the City, while so much land lay waste and unproductive, the Corporation, as an act of merciful consideration for their poorer fellow-citizens, graciously allotted on the extreme borders of the City, near Clerkenwell, a block of ground to a highly respectable working men's building society which had applied to them on the subject, on the condition, however, that they should pay for it a ground rent of £700 per annum! For some time the building society endeavoured to prove that so high a ground rent would necessarily greatly increase the amount of rent the tenants would have to pay. The Corporation was, however, impracticable; and, as no better bargain could be made, the terms were accepted.

CHAPTER II.

DEMOLITION OF THE DWELLINGS OF THE WORKING CLASSES.

AFTER the somewhat lengthened description we have given of the ejectments in Farringdon Road, and the manner in which the ground which had formerly been so densely covered with the dwellings of the working classes was allowed for the greater part of a quarter of a century to remain idle and unproductive, it might be thought that the cruelty and injustice of the Corporation on its poorer fellow-citizens could not have been carried further. This, however, was very far from being the case, for many other districts in the City of London, if not of equal magnitude, were scarcely less overcrowded, although the inhabitants were, as a rule, of a more respectable class. As before stated, the poor, when the demolitions of their dwellings were being carried on in Farringdon Road, in great numbers still continued to seek for shelter on the Surrey side of the water or in Clerkenwell, while others attempted to find homes in the already crowded districts of St. Ann's, Blackfriars,

and the congeries of streets which lie between Watling Street and the Thames; so as to keep as close as possible to the City firms by whom they were employed. The results were not only that the whole districts became fearfully overcrowded, but the poor-rates in the different little parishes (it being before the City parishes were formed into unions) became still higher. Appeals were now frequently made to the Corporation for some relief from this excessive taxation, and the Corporation at length listened to their complaints. Having deliberated for some time over the matter, they at length decided on applying to Parliament for a bill for the formation of New Cannon Street, ostensibly that it would be a grand civic improvement, but in reality that it would also have the effect of driving away all persons living in the line of road who would be likely to come upon the poor-rates. The plan succeeded to admiration, the bill was obtained, and operations were forthwith commenced. The houses in the line were demolished even with far greater rapidity than those in Farringdon Road, and the industrious classes who inhabited them were driven away; and, as usual, no one took the trouble to ask where they expected to find shelter, or, with one solitary exception, interesting himself in the matter. The exception alluded to was the incumbent of one of the small overcrowded parishes on the line, all of whose congregation had been driven away. Feeling great commiseration for their lot, he made application on the subject to the civic authorities. He asked for permission to be allowed

to build a good model lodging-house on some of the vacant land in his parish, volunteering to find among his personal friends the money for the purpose, and further promising to superintend it himself, so that no disreputable persons might be mixed up with the tenants. His offer was courteously but peremptorily refused. "No," they said, "we have, at much trouble and expense, got rid of all that sort of gentry, and it would be bad policy to do anything to tempt them back again." It would be unjust to the authorities in power at the time to have imagined that they were actuated by any feeling akin to a personal dislike to the working classes; it was a selfish pecuniary feeling which actuated them, nothing more. At present the same feeling of objection to the presence of the industrial classes in the City still exists, but it springs from a different sentiment. The motive is now comprised, as we intend hereafter to show, of a compound of pride and dishonesty; the latter appearing in the desire to appropriate to the comfort, indulgence, and interests of the rich, endowments and institutions intended solely for the benefit of the poor, and their raising such barriers in defence of their ill-gotten powers as shall prevent, unless by a miracle or strongly developed angry public feeling—terms in municipal reforms sometimes almost synonymous—any reformation from being effected which may have the effect of turning some of the charitable funds and endowments to those for whose use they were intended.

Before speaking further of the demolitions in the

City, let us cast an eye on the condition of those ejected into the districts north and south of Farringdon Street—Clerkenwell, Southwark, and Blackfriars—into which a greater portion of the poor were driven. In Clerkenwell they were most fearfully overcrowded before those from Farringdon Road joined them. When the new-comers arrived none would build houses to receive them, the rates being already too heavy. Some idea may be given of the condition of the neighbourhood by quoting the *Building News*, July 12th, 1860. After mentioning several horrible examples of overcrowding, that journal says:—

"Within a limited area of courts and alleys of not more than half an acre, will be found fifty or sixty small houses let out in tenements. Without making any allowance for casual inhabitants for the night or otherwise, we shall here find congregated together, upon a fair average, a thousand men, women, and children."

Dr. Griffiths, a medical officer of health, in a letter to the author, says, "The fact of a large family living in a small room with a decomposing corpse is a very common occurrence in my district."

Let us now cross Blackfriars Bridge, and cast a glance at the condition of the working classes ejected from the City who settled in the Southwark district, in order to be as near the scene of their labours in the City as possible, whether at what is termed river work, as porters on wharves, loading and unloading barges, and similar occupations, all, in fact, directly or

indirectly employed by City houses. Time being a great portion of a working man's capital, he naturally, when expelled from the City, keeps as close to his work as possible, to lose as little of his energies in walking to and fro as is absolutely necessary. As the City demolitions progressed, the whole district gradually became exceedingly overcrowded—almost as much so as Farringdon Road itself before the ejectment commenced. A short extract from a report at the time of Mr. Bianchi, medical officer of health for Blackfriars, and another from Mr. Rendell, medical officer of health for Southwark, will give an unvarnished matter-of-fact idea of the poor in that locality about the year '61.

Mr. Bianchi writes: "Again I inspected a house in Ewer Street in a fearful state of dilapidation, in which twenty-seven persons were living in seven small rooms. In many instances, many adult men and women were sleeping in the same room, without its being possible, even if there was any inclination, to make any provision for decency or morality. I may also mention that in the lying-in ward of the workhouse four-fifths of those confined within this last twelve years have been young unmarried women, who have been obliged to live in the manner described."

With regard to the state of the Southwark district, Mr. Rendell, the medical officer of health, wrote in the same year: "The kind of cases mentioned by Dr. Letheby in his report are very common in my parish. I have many in my mind—such as the dead remaining,

after death from infectious diseases, in rooms with the living. Overcrowding is just now the rule in our poorer habitations. I have constantly to get rid of men out of rooms where women are confined. One in search of abuses has only to choose the class of case he requires, and he can be supplied, *usque ad nauseam et longius.*" Other evidence might also be brought forward to show the degraded state of the whole district, which in the end had become a scandal to the metropolis. Nor did there appear to be much chance for any improvement by the authorities in the district itself, as a very large proportion of the property belonged to the Church, and was known as the Winchester Park Estates. Of course, assistance from that quarter was not likely to be obtained, and things might have become, if possible, worse, had not the Metropolitan Board of Works determined to take the matter in hand. After a little consideration, they resolved to make a road from Stamford Street, Blackfriars, to the Borough. They might easily have made it shorter and less expensive, but the line they at length determined on would be carried through the overcrowded districts, and the inhabitants would thereby be driven away.

The houses in the line of the present Southwark Street having been destroyed, the ground, as in the case of Cannon Street and Farringdon Road, remained for many years utterly waste and useless, with the exception of a few patches on which some magnificent warehouses were built. How close was the affinity existing in the feeling of the Metropolitan Board of

Works and the Corporation of the City of London, in their indifference to the welfare and comfort of the working classes—those who had been first, without pity, driven from the City, and then from Southwark—may be seen by the following anecdote, which is a fact.

A gentleman possessed of great experience in the habits and manners of the working classes, noticing the fearful overcrowding which had taken place in Newington and Lambeth after the demolition of the houses in the formation of Southwark Street, suggested to one of the leading members of the Metropolitan Board of Works whether it might not be practicable to build a number of first-class model lodging-houses in Southwark Street, so that, perhaps, a thousand skilled artizans and their families, and other respectable employés, might be able to live nearer to their work in the City.

"Why do you not form a company and build them?" was the reply; "the Board are always willing to listen to an offer. But if your time is of any value, let me give you a hint. The Board will demand from you, in all probability, a far higher ground-rent than from any one else."

"Why so? I should have thought it ought to have been cheaper, considering the uses to which the ground would be applied."

"Certainly not," answered the member of the Metropolitan Board of Works. "The close vicinity of houses for the working classes would deteriorate the value of

the adjoining land for other purposes, so your idea is very unlikely to come to anything after all."*

But other circumstances occurred which tended to drive the operatives who tenaciously clung to the neighbourhood of Southwark Street to a still farther distance from the City—but for which neither the Corporation nor the Metropolitan Board of Works were to blame—such as the extension of the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway across the river to Ludgate Hill, which passed through almost the whole of the dwellings of the working classes then resident in the vicinity, while the extension of the Charing Cross Railway to the Borough completed the work; and now the whole of the Southwark Street district near the Thames is as completely cleared of the dwellings of the working classes as Farringdon Road itself.

But the demolition of the houses of the small shopkeepers, poorly paid clerks, warehousemen, shop assistants, operatives, and others resident in Farringdon Road and its numerous courts and alleys, by no means comprised all those who had been ejected from the centre of the City Union. Another enormous work of destruction was projected and carried out—the long and magnificent line of road known as Queen Victoria Street, extending from Blackfriars Bridge to

* Here, however, it ought to be stated, to the honour of the Metropolitan Board of Works, that after allowing an obscure portion of the ground to remain profitless and waste for some twenty years, stimulated at last by public opinion, they allowed the Peabody dwellings trustees to erect on it a block of their admirable model lodging-houses, but requiring a heavy ground-rent in return.

the Mansion House. Other grand improvements were also effected in the neighbourhood of the Bank and the Royal Exchange down to the river-side, nor did they stop till every dwelling-house of the value of from £150 to £200 a year was completely destroyed. What, then, must have been the injustice practised on the industrial classes prior to the latter demolitions being effected, and how completely they must have been swept out of the centre of the City, when even houses of that rent were condemned to be destroyed, while those erected on the spot were either warehouses, offices, or the terminus of the Cannon Street Railway, which in itself ejected more than twelve hundred persons.

It should not be imagined, however, that the central City parishes alone were guilty of these unmerciful works of destruction. Many extensive alterations took place in the eastern, north-eastern, and south-western districts of the City, most of them being the work, directly or indirectly, of the Corporation or public companies under their patronage, all, however, tending, either to a greater or less degree, to drive the working classes, small tradesmen, and skilled craftsmen outside the City boundaries, and all in this respect succeeding, whatever might be the ostensible object of the undertaking. Let us first glance at the parishes known as the East London Union, reaching from Cornhill to Aldgate. In this district formerly lived a very large working population, employed in the different warehouses of the East India Company and private mer-

chants, as well as several manufactories and large mercantile establishments. The part of this union the most densely crowded with the working classes was, perhaps, that stretching from the parish of St. Olave's, Hart Street, inclusive, to Whitechapel. The first movement for dislodging the poor from the locality was the formation of the Blackwall terminus. This drove several thousands from the union, who sought a refuge in the neighbourhood of Whitechapel and Shoreditch, already overburdened with their own poor. Afterwards other improvements took place, each in its turn carried out in those parts where the working classes were the more thickly congregated together, and this system was continued till it was difficult, if not impossible, to find the dwelling of a man whose income was less than £150 a year resident in the union.

But while these City unions were thus employed in getting rid of the whole of their working classes out of their district, what was the condition of Whitechapel? Not simply that they were overcrowded with their own poor, but they were thus obliged to receive the whole of the poor from the East London Union. Perhaps a better example could not be given of the extreme selfishness exhibited by the City and their heartless treatment of the poor, than by contrasting the condition of the workhouses of St. Olave's, Hart Street, district, comprising Fenchurch Street and the different localities adjoining it—that is to say, the districts from which the poor were ejected—with the

Whitechapel workhouse. Our description of the workhouse of the latter parish, somewhat condensed, was written by the pen of Mr. Charles Dickens, in *Household Words*, February, 1856, and, it may be added, not in the slightest degree exaggerated.

"Crouched under the wall of the workhouse, in the dark street, on the muddy pavement stones, with the rain raining on them, were five bundles of rags; they were motionless, and had no appearance of human form. 'What is this?' said my companion; 'what is this?' 'Some miserable people shut out of the casual ward.' As we were looking at them, a decent working man, having the appearance of a stonemason, touched me on the shoulder. 'This is an awful sight, sir,' said he, 'for a Christian country.' 'It is, indeed, my friend,' says I; 'it is, God knows.' 'I have seen much worse than this,' said the stonemason; 'I have counted fifteen, twenty, and five-and-twenty at a time. . . .'" Mr. Dickens, then addressing the master of the workhouse, said, "'Do you know that there are five wretched creatures outside?' 'I have not seen them, but I dare say there are.' 'Do you doubt they are there?' 'No, not at all; there may be many more.' 'Are they men or women?' 'Women, I suppose. Very likely one or two of them may have been there last night, and the night before that.' 'There all night, do you mean?' 'Very likely.' My friend and I looked at each other, and the master of the workhouse added quickly, 'Why, Lord bless me! what am I to do? what can I do? The place is

full—the place is full every night. I suppose I must give the preference to women with children, mustn't I? You would not have me not do that.' 'Surely not,' says I; 'it is a humane principle, and I am glad to hear of it. Do not forget I do not blame you. What I want to ask,' I went on, 'is whether you know anything against these five beings outside.' 'I don't know anything about them,' says he emphatically; 'that is to say, they are there solely because the place is full—solely because the place is full.'

"We went to the ragged bundle nearest the door, and I touched it. No movement replying, I gently shook it. The rags began to be slowly stirred within, and little by little the head of a young woman of three or four and twenty, as I should judge, gaunt with want of food and dirt, but not naturally ugly, appeared. 'Tell us,' I said, 'why are you lying there?' 'Because I can't get into the workhouse.' 'Were you here last night?' 'Yes, and the night before that too.'" *

Let our readers ponder well over this terrible recital of Mr. Dickens, and then learn that a few hundred paces off, in the neighbouring City parish of St. Olave's, Hart Street, stood the workhouse not only for its own poor, but for those of the parishes about Fenchurch Street, which was no longer used, and the poor had been sent away. At the time, and for fifteen

* The publication of the above article in *Household Words* had the effect of drawing public attention to the Whitechapel workhouse. The result was that a new and a far more commodious building was erected. The old workhouse was closed, and the shocking scenes so graphically told by Mr. Dickens no longer occurred.

years prior to the above narrative, the doors of that workhouse had been closed, and had never been opened to relieve the distresses of the wandering poor even by giving them a night's lodging, although the neighbouring parish to which their poor had been ejected (Whitechapel) exhibited night after night such distressing scenes. The author visited the Hart Street workhouse in October, 1861. He had considerable difficulty in finding the building, from the secluded position it was in, although close to Aldgate. The entrance in St. John Street had been bricked up some twenty years before, and presented merely the appearance of a dead wall. It was so difficult to find, that even the policeman on duty did not know it. At length, with considerable trouble, he found there was a back entrance in a miserable alley in Crutched Friars. Having been furnished with a key by a citizen resident in the district, who did not wish his name to be known, lest he might excite the ill feeling of his brother parishioners, he opened the door. On entering the courtyard the gas lamp in the centre was still erect. He then visited the matron's room, the children's room, the board room, kitchen, and wards, all of which remained, but in a wretched state of dilapidation. All the windows were broken, and the rain had poured in through them and the roof without impediment for many winters. Most of the fixtures were still there, and the wrecks of some poor children's toys, some memorandum books, and a portion of the flock bedding on which the paupers had been at work some twenty

years before, were lying mildewed and rotten on the floor. Apparently no one had entered the building for many years. At the commencement it might have been easily made useful, and even at that time a few hundred pounds might have converted it into an excellent refuge for many hundred poor. Nor could this parish, which allowed such scenes to pass night after night at the neighbouring workhouse of Whitechapel, plead poverty in excuse for its neglect. On the contrary, it contained enormous wealth; the Corn Exchange, the offices of the Victoria Dock Company and several other companies of equal magnitude, the enormous warehouses of the East India Dock Company, and many hundred offices of our first merchants, were to be found within its precincts; while the enormous number of neighbouring poor employed in these localities were almost all located in the Whitechapel district.

Let us now glance at the north-eastern districts, and follow the line of the Metropolitan Railway from King's Cross to Moorgate Street, and its further continuance across Finsbury Circus to Liverpool Street, and imagine how many of the small tradesmen and operative class were driven from their homes further eastward and northward to a great distance beyond the City boundaries, or into the already overcrowded districts to the south of the City Road. In the formation of the Moorgate Street Station alone three thousand householders and lodgers, the latter principally shop assistants and operatives, were ejected. But it may be asked, "Were no means taken

to provide them with shelter or to remunerate them for the inconvenience they suffered?" There were none whatever. The company even went so far as to demolish the parish church; but, in compensation, the Corporation, under the patronage of the City magistrates, obtained licenses for three new gin-shops, notwithstanding the great reduction in the population. The Corporation then appeared to consider they had done their duty in the matter; the consciences of the aldermen, common councilmen, and other City magnates were perfectly clear and unsullied, and they felt certain it would be unjust to expect them to have done more than they had in the matter. But this is not all; the line has now, as before stated, been continued to Liverpool Street, where it joins the termini of the Eastern Counties and other railways, these termini alone covering altogether many acres of ground, which before the companies commenced alterations was densely covered with the dwellings of the City working classes, and all crowded with inmates. These in their turn have been driven eastward and northward, and further than ever from their work. But one great object, if no other, has been obtained. They have been driven so far from the City, that they have lost not only their identity as citizens of London, but also their right in the thousand and one charitable endowments and educational institutions of enormous wealth it contains, as well as their constitutional privileges as voters in the City elections, parliamentary and municipal, to which, had they remained, vast numbers of them would have been entitled. Nor are these

mischiefs the only ones to be deplored. That continuity of good feeling which formerly existed to a greater or less degree between employer and employed, has been completely severed. The employer knows not even by sight the faces or names of the immense number of those in his service, and appears to have lost all interest in their welfare, except in subscribing some trifling contribution, at, perhaps, a City charity dinner, and the operatives and clerks in their turn, in a vast number of cases, look upon the partners of the firms in which they are employed with an angry feeling, which occasionally unpleasantly develops itself, and which, if further investigated, would be found to be latent to a far greater extent than is generally imagined.

In the western and south-western districts of the City of London, or as it is now better known as the West London City Union, the same system of ejectment of the industrial classes has been carried on with equal vigour, and with equal indifference to the question in what manner those driven away were to find dwellings, as have been shown by the municipal authorities of the other two unions. But although those ejected from the Western City Union were very numerous, the fact was not so apparent to the casual observer as those driven from Farringdon Street and Moorgate Street and other more central localities; their dwellings being principally in the back streets between Fleet Street and Holborn, as well as near the riverside. By degrees, as they were driven out of the City, a vast number congregated together in the already overcrowded parish of St.

Clement Danes, immediately outside the City boundary and close to Temple Bar. In fact, so dense had become the overcrowding, that although the natural position of the parish was, perhaps, the best adapted in London for sanitary purposes, it became the most unhealthy, as was proved by the death-rate for several years exceeding the births, while in an average of the other parishes in London the births exceeded the death-rate by more than twenty per cent. In this fearful state the parish continued for some years, when a circumstance at last occurred (not emanating from the civic authorities, it is true, but strongly supported by them) which not only effectually put a stop to any fresh emigrants arriving from the City, but in one fell swoop cleared from the parish the whole of the industrial classes and poor who resided in it. It having been decided by Government to remove the law courts to a more convenient situation, a spot was selected on the northern part of the parish of St. Clement Danes. True, there were other sites to be found equally convenient and far less expensive, but it was urged that the spot selected was fearfully overcrowded, and that it would be a meritorious work to improve it. The suggestion was carried out to the letter. Six thousand of the working classes were driven from their homes to find a shelter where they could, not a question having been asked, nor apparently a thought having been bestowed, on the subject by those who were the prime movers in the undertaking. But what made the whole transaction the more cruel was, that the demolitions were carried out long before

the land was wanted for the law courts. If the reader is an inhabitant of London, he can most probably bear witness to the fact that the whole of the enormous space of ground required for building the law courts remained waste and profitless for more than ten years.

CHAPTER III.

CITY PAROCHIAL CHARITIES.

IT must not be imagined that the demolitions of the dwellings of the industrial classes who resided in the City of London, as mentioned in the last chapter, comprised the whole which have been carried out. Those which have been offered to the notice of the reader were some of the more striking examples, those, in fact, which were the more likely to have come principally under his notice, without the injustice and cruelty, directly or indirectly perpetrated in carrying them out, being understood by him. Nor are these ejectments yet complete, or the work of the Corporation and the livery companies (the latter now possibly being the more active of the two) likely to terminate for some time to come. They appear to be determined to do their work effectually, and not only exclude every working man from the City of London, and the poorer classes generally, but the whole of the clerks, warehousemen, and the more intelligent and industrious class of operatives as well, so as to leave the City entirely in the hands of the Mayor and Corpo-

ration, who are, in nine cases out of ten, working hand in hand or under the direction of the livery companies, as well as with the enormous funds still directly or indirectly under the control of the civic authorities. Should the reader have any doubt of the truth of this statement, he has merely to consult a map lately published, showing the projected alterations which have been decided on by the Corporation and the Metropolitan Board of Works, and he will easily conclude that, when completed, there will scarcely be a dwelling house in London left to reside in. No mansions are built for the rich, as they will not reside in them; while for those whose incomes do not exceed three or four hundred pounds a year no dwelling houses can be built; the ostensible reason at present given is, not that the poor-rate is still the bug-bear it used formerly to be, but the policy of escaping the inhabited house duty.

Let us now glance for a few moments on the effects of these ejectments on the working and middle classes formerly inhabiting the City of London, though it will be difficult to make the reader understand the cruelty and injustice of most of these proceedings. Let us take, for example, a class, and one alone, which has been ejected from the West London Union. A considerable portion of these at first found homes in the parish of St. Clement Danes. The class alluded to are those connected with the public press and other large printing offices, comprising compositors, pressmen, machine-men, readers, reading boys, and others. On these the effect has been particularly unjust. If the reader is at

all acquainted with the nature of the night-work carried on in these establishments, he can bear witness to the heated atmosphere in which compositors and others work; and, when over, how advantageous it would be (certainly to the less robust among them) to be able to find good and commodious lodgings near the printing offices they are employed in. And yet, if inquiry were made of the many thousand hands employed in these establishments, and other printing offices between St. Paul's and Temple Bar, it would be found that not one in ten can find a house in an average distance of a mile and a half from his work. It has been urged that the more adroit compositors on the daily press are so well paid, that each would prefer living in a house by himself on the Surrey side of the water, rather than dwelling near the office in which he is employed, notwithstanding the economy in health, labour, and money such a change would effect. Admitting this to be true, of which, by the way, we have great doubts, it may be answered that all are not so well paid as a first-class compositor on a daily newspaper, and the case of those who are less fortunate or are less remunerated for their labours ought also to be taken into consideration. Diseases of the lungs are especially frequent among those working in a heated atmosphere, and afterwards exposed to the cold air of a London winter's morning, and the condition of the wives, widows, and orphans of these men ought also to weigh in the matter.

But it is not only the highly intelligent class of men

employed in large printing-offices who suffer severely from being driven away from their work, and frequently to a great distance, by these ejectments. It would form an interesting problem to discover what is the comparative pecuniary loss incurred by those who are thus driven from the City, and yet are obliged to visit it daily. At least one hundred and twenty thousand working men have been driven from the City during the last forty years. Even in 1793, there were at least one hundred thousand more than in the present day, without counting the additional numbers whose labours in the City were called into operation by the increase of commerce, but who were unable, even before the ejectments commenced, to find lodgings within its precincts. At the same time it should be remembered that, after the buildings were destroyed for the formation of Farringdon Street, Cannon Street, and other localities, there was ample room for house accommodation, on the model of the Peabody dwellings, which could have been built on the vast space of ground which for so many years remained uncovered. Nay, more, there was space sufficient not only to erect homes for those ejected, but for as many more who would willingly have lived within the City boundaries. At a rough computation, those who had been driven a mile and a half from their labours must have lost thereby at least an hour a day. Calculating the value of labour at sixpence an hour, how vast, from this cause alone, must be the tax thus placed on the City working classes! Those who arrive either by the work-

men's trains or the steamboat must be taxed still higher. It has been estimated that the whole tax placed on the City working classes from this cause alone must reach to a quarter of a million sterling per annum. Others make the amount still higher.

Nor have they, as is frequently urged, gained anything by their house-rent being cheaper; it is now, at a distance of a mile and a half from their work, at least as much as they paid in the City. Nothing is more common than to find that the small houses in the distant parts of Southwark, Bermondsey, Whitechapel, and Bethnal Green, and which did not cost more than £200 each building, now let out to lodgers each paying 4*s.* per week for a room, or an average of £42 a year for each house; and in the populous districts the amount is far greater. In conversation with a man employed as a porter in a publishing house on Ludgate Hill, he complained bitterly of the enormous rent that he and his class had to pay for their lodgings. He had a wife and three children, and his wages averaged 26*s.* a week, out of which he was obliged to pay 9*s.* a week for two rooms he occupied, at a distance of a mile and a half from his work. Knowing there was space to spare in the warehouse he was employed in, he was asked why he did not appeal to the firm for permission to sleep in the house of business? "I did so," he replied, "but was told by my masters that by their lease, which they held of a livery company, they were not allowed to let any one sleep on the premises—to avoid the inhabited house duty. On the boy population this system of being

obliged to live so far from their work acts with peculiar severity. On questioning one of the partners of the same firm on the subject, he pointed out to me two boys in the warehouse, one of whom lived in Highgate, the other in Chelsea, and both had to walk to and from their work daily. Another similar case was also pointed out in a large printing firm further east. A reading boy was wanted, and a lad with good credentials applied for the appointment. As on examination he appeared well adapted for the work, the manager asked for his address, promising to write to him in the course of a few days. The address the boy gave happening to be at Bow, the manager said to him, "My lad, you won't do for us, you live too far off; you will be so tired when you arrive here you will not be fit for your work." "Oh, don't send me away on that account," said the lad; "many of your boys live farther off than I do." And on making inquiries into the subject the manager found it to be the case.

It may possibly be argued, as has frequently been done before, that a vast majority of those ejected from the City were of the poorer classes, who having no personal or proprietary right in it, have therefore no just cause to complain of the treatment they have received. If they brought nothing with them into the City, and accumulated neither money nor property while there, they have no reasonable right to complain at having lost all legal claim on the Corporation or livery companies. That they are now in the position of tenants whose leases have expired, and having been

unable to renew them have, as a natural consequence, been ejected. But is this really the case? Possibly, if the subject were further investigated, it might appear that those who have thus unwillingly been ejected have had a very great injustice done them.

It cannot be denied that many of the grievances they complain of have been inflicted under the sanction of the law, and many of the most despotic and cruel acts which have been perpetrated have not only been legalised by the Court of Chancery, and in many cases have afterwards received even the benedictions of bishops and archbishops for the legal cruelty perpetrated. It need hardly be said that these latter scandals as a rule are connected with the abuse of the City parochial and other charities, which have been carried out in so ruthless a manner as to deprive the poor, for whom they were indisputably intended, of all the many benefits which could be derived from them. And even in those comparatively rare cases in which the City charities are applied on anything like a charitable footing, it will be found that as a rule those who require charitable aid the less receive the greater portion, while those who are the most in want receive the less, and so downwards, "the assistance bestowed descending in an apparently graduated manner from the least needy to the poorer, while the poorest, for whose benefit the endowment was effected, are deprived of all part in the inheritance intended entirely for their use. The wealth of the City endowed charities is now so vast, as to make the old saying that the streets of London are

paved with gold hardly any longer a figure of speech, but a reality. And yet with this enormous wealth it can easily be proved that other charities have been bequeathed, also of enormous value, which have either been lost or absorbed in some unaccountable and unrecorded manner, or under some miserable law quibble have been withdrawn altogether from the poor they were intended to relieve, and applied solely for the benefit of the rich. Cases can also easily be named in which these funds have been applied, not simply to the uses of those who are rich, but to uses of very doubtful morality, and that without any remonstrance on the part of the clergy, who ought to have been foremost in defence of the interests of the poor. One instance we will mention, which took place about the year 1820, will serve as an example of the rest, admitting at the same time that it is one of the most glaring description, and certainly could not have been perpetrated without resistance in the present day.

In the year 1815, a tradesman of the name of Troutbeck died in Wapping, in which parish he had resided more than fifty years. He appears to have been rather an eccentric character. He had neither friends nor relations, and but few acquaintances; yet he was much respected for his inoffensive manners and general integrity of conduct. Although parsimonious in the extreme in his housekeeping, and suspected by many to be a miser, he could occasionally be very charitable. At his death he was found to be the owner of a vast amount more property than any had given him credit

for. He left a will in which he bequeathed the sum of £6,000 to build a new wing to the church charity schools of St. John's, Wapping, in which he had been educated, and the residue of his property was to be applied to the board, education, and clothing of poor boys of the same parish. At the time of his death that "most religious and gracious king," George IV., was Prince Regent. In consequence of his licentious extravagance, he had exceeded his income by more than a quarter of a million, and an application was made to the House of Commons for a grant of money to be appropriated to the payment of his debts. The Minister also stated that he was happy to inform the House that, although the debts of his Royal Highness amounted to that sum, the nation would not be called upon to pay the whole. A tradesman in Wapping, of the name of Troutbeck, had lately died, leaving a sum of money for the building of some schools, and a further sum, considerably exceeding £100,000, to the maintenance of poor boys in the parish. He was authorised by the Lord Chancellor (Eldon) to state that, inasmuch as the said Troutbeck had no relatives, the whole of his property was an escheat to the Crown. Two or three claimants afterwards started up as relatives of Troutbeck, but none could prove his identity, and the whole of the property was divided, under the excuse of paying the Prince's debts, among black-legs, fiddlers, jewellers, opera dancers, tailors, and other creditors possibly still more objectionable. It can now, it is stated, be easily shown that the different investments

of Troutbeck's money at the time of his death have, since that date, increased so enormously in value, as to be sufficient—were the amount expended in the manner Troutbeck intended—to maintain the poor children not of Wapping only, but of the whole eastern district of the metropolis, without any contributions from other sources.

Although in point of iniquity few cases equal to that of Troutbeck could be mentioned, there are many scores of smaller charities, making in the aggregate an enormous sum, which have also been lost to the poor, or partially compensated for by an increase in the rates. Of those which do remain, their distribution is so eccentric and capricious, as almost, according to the Corporation and trades guild ideas, to make it appear an impossibility to find fitting candidates to receive them. Nor would this conclusion, if properly investigated, prove as absurd as it appears at first sight. Witness, for example, the present application of the funds of the Charterhouse School and Dulwich College, when compared with the intentions of the founders, and many other educational endowments of which we shall speak more at length in another chapter—funds which are wholly bestowed on those who have not, from their position in society, the slightest claim whatever on charitable funds and endowments.

To give the reader some idea of the enormous civic charitable parochial endowments, from which the poor and industrial classes are now completely shut out, the

final barrier being effected by their ejectments from the City, and the pure philanthropy which originated these institutions, as well as the iniquitously unjust uses to which they are now applied, would indeed be a very difficult and complicated task. We shall therefore content ourselves with giving a limited description of some of those best known to the public at large, as the reader, if so inclined, may the easier inquire into them himself and ascertain to a certainty the truth or falsehood of our statements. As it would be as difficult as tedious to classify minutely the different objects of these charities, we will divide them into certain comprehensive classes, admitting, at the same time, that they frequently so closely overlap each other as to make their perfect classification a work of considerable difficulty.

Let us commence, then, with some of the City parochial charities, as the majority of these were intended for distribution among the poorest of the parishioners.* As many of them, if not the majority, are now obsolete, it might naturally be held that, in equity and good Christian feeling, they ought to be applied to the augmentation of purely charitable trusts in those districts or parishes outside the City boundaries into which the poor have been driven, so that the particular funds might thus be applied as nearly as possible to the

* The author is indebted to the writer of a pamphlet published by Mr. J. E. Day, Savoy Street, Strand, and another written by Sir Charles Trevelyan, for much of the information contained in this chapter respecting the City parochial charities.

uses for which the testator intended them; or, in case the purposes for which they were originally instituted no longer exist, the amount now realised might be applied to other really charitable purposes in any of our overcrowded poor districts outside the City boundaries.

Let us take, for example, the legacy left by Lady Mico, in 1670 (£2,000), to redeem poor slaves. It was invested by her executors in a freehold wharf in Castle Baynard, which has been sold, and the funds now amount to upwards of £111,000. Again, in 1552, the churchwardens of St. Clement Danes purchased a void piece of ground in Holborn, with a tenement on it called "The Slaughter House," for £160. This now yields, it is said, some £5,000 a year, and forms part of an aggregate charitable fund which will shortly be set free. And here may be found one of the many glaring anomalies in our municipal government, which form such rich subjects for the reflection and amusement of the cynic. And this the more so by the habit of outrageous boasting made use of by the Endowed School Commissioners, the Corporation of the City of London, the trades guilds and their admirers, of the just and judicious ministrations of the various charitable funds at their disposal. The reader will remember that in the last chapter we called his attention to the large space of ground in the parish of St. Clement Danes which had been set apart for the new law courts, and which had remained idle and unproductive for so many years. On this ground, prior

to the demolition of the houses, resided the whole poor of the parish of St. Clement Danes, in number about six thousand. Another case mentioned by Sir Charles Trevelyan in a letter to the *Times*, June 14, 1869, may also be quoted. So clearly and forcibly are some of these examples expressed by Sir Charles, that it would be doing him an injustice were we not to give them in his own words:—

"The founders of our City charities might say that our poor had been driven away by a force of circumstances to a distance, but the funds appropriated by us to their benefit have been largely increased. Now tell us by these abundant means how have you fulfilled our intentions towards the objects of our solicitude? Then would come out the shameful, the almost incredible, fact that the City parochial charities, which were consecrated to the poor, have, in the great majority of cases, been misappropriated to the rich. St. Mildred, Bread Street, may be taken as a representative case. The population is 223, and the income from the (charity) estates in 1865 was £707 2*s.* 11*d.*; the expenditure the same year was as follows:—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Church-rate purposes	289	5	0
Managements and outgoings	52	2	0
Applied towards payment of poor-rates	233	13	7
For the poor	15	2	4
Total	£590	2	11

"In order to get rid of the income, the church-

wardens pay £60 a year to a curate, although, according to one informant, there is no service in the church for want of a congregation. Another, more intent on accuracy, took a course down Bread Street, and found that there are two churches there almost contiguous—Allhallows and St. Mildred. Upon inquiring from an intelligent policeman, who occasionally drops in when cold, perhaps, he was told that there is no evening, and only one morning, service in both churches; and that, on his last occasion of worshipping, the policeman found in Allhallows ten persons, including the officials; in St. Mildred's he found two, including the officials, the beadle and the pew-opener composing the congregation. A sum of money has lately been spent in repairing St. Mildred's Church. Poor there are none. The churches all round that district are as thick as blackberries.

"In St. Michael le Quern, the parish which has been obliterated by the Post Office, the population has of course disappeared, but the few remaining householders have the disposal of an income which has been declared by Sir John Karslake and Lord Justice Selwyn to be 'a charity under the jurisdiction of the Board of Charity Commissioners.' The churchwardens resisted rendering accounts for years, even to the verge of litigation; and when, under the pressure of the legal opinion, the accounts were obtained, it appeared that the income of the charity from City property was £292 10*s.*, and that in the year ending March, 1868, there was expended—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
For purposes of St. Vedast Church, and salaries of vestry clerks and church officers	177	1	2
Churchwardens' audit dinner	27	0	0
Gifts to poor	32	13	0
Contribution in aid of poor-rate	100	0	0
Total	£336	14	2

"By a will dated the 16th of January, 1503, the following bequest was made to the parish of St. Edmund the King and Martyr:—

"Twenty shillings in bread among poor parishioners of the parish, and 20*s.* in coal; 5*s.* among the priests and clerks for certain yearly services in the church (superstitious uses); 5*s.* in alms for the poor; each of the wardens, 6*s.* 8*d.*; £7 to each of two chaplains nominated by the trustees. Residue for the repair and rebuilding of the property of the City.

"In 1868, the annual income had increased to £1,421 2*s.* 4*d.*, and the expenditure was as follows:—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Rector, for Sunday evening service	195	6	6
Clerk, pew-opener, verger, lighting and warming church	204	0	0
To 23 poor parishioners, in money	497	0	0
To 23 same poor persons, in clothing, bread, coals, and meat	150	0	0
Meat for poor	32	0	0
Repairs	97	0	0
Total	£1,175	6	6"

or, on an average, £23 for each poor person. The one who receives most has upwards of £60.

Sir Charles then calls the attention of the public to other abuses in the distribution of the City charities, equally disgraceful with those we have quoted, and then concludes his admirable letter in the following manner:—

"Without entering further into any humiliating details, the City is pregnant with such cases, the difficulty being to make any selections. It may be stated generally that the funds left for the relief of the poor are, for the most part, expended by the wealthy owners of City property in paying their church and poor rates, the latter being the contribution with which their shops and counting-houses are charged to the union rate. The love of power is also lavishly indulged in by maintaining a body of well-paid officials, who do duty as congregations to the otherwise deserted churches. . . . At St. Michael's, Cornhill, there has been an unstinted expenditure of charitable funds in indulging the æsthetic tastes of the churchwardens. The intense costliness of this work of art—for it can be regarded in no other light—gives a painful impression of luxurious waste, quite irrespective of the source from which the expenditure has been defrayed. The 'dim religious light' has been so fully obtained by highly elaborate stained glass windows, that the church has to be lighted with gas even in a bright summer's forenoon. But any mode of getting rid of these charitable funds is better than the pervading

demoralisation of the sinecure rector, the full-blown church officials, and the show paupers at £60 a year each. In many of the parishes there are large accumulations which, even in the present liberal license, the churchwardens have failed to dispose of."

The *Times* not only inserted Sir Charles Trevelyan's letter, but in an admirably written leading article complimented him highly upon it, almost to the full agreeing with him in the views he had taken, and in some instances even exceeding in blame the language in which he denounced the abuses existing in the civic charitable endowments. "The parochial charities of the City," the writer said, "stand alone among kindred endowments in two material respects. While their wealth has been increased beyond all precedent or previous calculation by the progressive value of sites in the centre of London, their local objects have been extinguished or diminished by the same process. The area of the City within the municipal limit is less than one square mile. This was once the entire metropolis. It swarmed with a busy, thriving population, who were born and died within its limits, and were animated by a warm feeling of attachment to municipality, guild, and parish, the fruits of which are to be seen in the numerous churches and overflowing charities. There is scarcely the semblance of the corporate or parochial feeling in modern days, when, as Sir Charles Trevelyan says, 'the City has been converted into an exchange or counting-house for the metropolis.' At the same time, it must not be sup-

posed that such necessities as the founders of these charities designed, however injudiciously, to relieve no longer exist in London. They still exist in those parts to which the poor of the City have retired like aboriginal tribes before the advance of civilisation. They are to be traced in the weekly returns of the metropolitan pauperism, in the constant appeals for metropolitan hospitals, and in the dark calendar of metropolitan vice and ignorance. Yet there are small parishes containing but three or four acres, and nearly covered by public buildings, which have charitable incomes of thousands a year."

After commenting upon the different points in Sir Charles Trevelyan's letter, the article concludes: "It is a common impression that an effective jurisdiction over all charities is vested in the Charity Commissioners; but this impression is quite unfounded. The Charity Commissioners have no power to restrain charity trustees from squandering their funds, unless where actual breaches of trust have been committed. They may submit to Parliament schemes for the reform of charities, but no principles or rules have been laid down under which the schemes are to be framed or passed into law, and the result is that little can be done except by application to Chancery. It is high time for this branch of our law to be revised and reconstructed; and, in any event, there is ample room for the movement originated by Mr. Rogers and supported by Sir Charles Trevelyan. There is a living want of education for a special class side by side

with a reservoir of charitable funds, now running to waste."

This letter of Sir Charles Trevelyan and the reply, and the article on it in the *Times* newspaper, may almost be considered as the proximate cause of the movement which has taken root. If it has not as yet put forth many solid branches, it is hoped that in time it will effect some reformation in the administration of our City charities. It also had the effect of bringing forth, through the medium of the public press, several other parochial abuses which were hitherto but little known to the general public. Among them was one which appeared in the *Times* newspaper on the 25th of June of the same year, in a letter signed "Civis." In it he says:—

"Sir Charles Trevelyan has by no means exhausted the catalogue of parishes in which large sums of money are wasted, or worse than wasted, in so-called charity; but one of the instances mentioned in his letter is so remarkable, that I cannot do better than give some details respecting it which he has omitted.

"This instance is to be found in the parish of St. Mildred's, Bread Street. St. Mildred's is a small parish, lying on both sides of Cannon Street, about half way between St. Paul's and Cannon Street Station. The revenue of its charity estates is now £824 10*s.* per annum. What were the trusts upon which this property, or at least the bulk of it, was given cannot now be discovered, since the older deeds seem to have perished in the Great Fire. Ever since then the

charity income has been applied to what is described in the more recent deeds as 'the common benefit and profit of the parish.' To these words the trustees have given a liberal interpretation, for out of the £824 they not only defray all the expenses connected with the church, but actually pay the whole poor-rates of the parish, reaching to nearly £300 a year, and thereby relieve the occupiers to that amount annually. The items of their expenditure are shown in the accounts they furnish the Charity Commissioners. Among them there appears the following:—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Vestry clerk	77	4	6
Parish clerk	38	1	6
Organist	30	0	0
Pew-opener	33	19	10
Clothing for choristers (two years) . .	35	18	6
Donations to curate (two years) . .	60	0	0
Gifts to the poor (two years) . .	81	6	0
Applied in aid of poor-rate (two years)! .	518	3	10
Donation to Bread Street ward schools .	21	0	0
Breakfast and dinner on Ascension Day, audit dinner, and refreshment after vestries, visiting parish estates, and cab hire (two years)	241	1	0
	£1,136	15	2

"Now of this charity revenue of £800 a year, nearly £300 goes to pay the rate at which the parish is assessed to the union for the support of the poor—that is to say, it is applied to relieve, not the poor (there are no poor in the parish), but the wealthy occupiers of offices and warehouses who would otherwise have to pay their rates out of their own pockets. Of the remaining £500

a year, how much is there that can be thought to be usefully or even charitably spent? St. Mildred's is a small parish, covering only two or three acres of ground. It has only two inhabited houses, all the rest of the area being taken up by warehouses and commercial offices, the persons employed in which live far away in the suburbs. There are no poor, so that the 'gifts made to the poor' go to the people not resident in the parish, but who have been at some time in their lives connected with it, and who may, perhaps, be at this moment receiving parish relief elsewhere. There is nobody to go to the church, and, even if there were, the neighbourhood contains so many other empty churches, that the accommodation provided here would still be wholly unneeded. As a matter of fact, the congregation consists of the salaried organist, parish clerk, and pew-opener, and of the choristers who get their clothes for nothing. In short, all the money spent on church purposes is, like the £600 which was expended a few years ago in repairing the church, absolutely thrown away. Not one citizen of London, not one member of the Church of England (except indeed the officials above mentioned), gets any good whatever from the maintenance of St. Mildred's Church, while we hear on every side complaints of the want of money for the extension of education, for the erection of churches in neglected districts, for the support of hospitals and infirmaries. Many other cases at the time came under the notice of the public respecting these City parochial charities, each in its way as objectionable

as those we have quoted. One parish had an estate producing £300 a year, invested in the rector and churchwardens, to sustain and support all the works, ornaments, and other burdens of the parish church. Of this there remained a balance in hand of £580, after paying the parish and vestry clerks, pew-opener, fire-engine keeper, and wine, which item alone was eight guineas, &c. Among the charges was dinner at Richmond; the items in the three different years were respectively £29 8*s.* 2*d.*, £42 5*s.* 0*d.*, £32 11*s.* 6*d.* The explanation was that the churchwarden 'has always considered it very advantageous for the interests of the parish, and the promotion of good feeling among the parishioners, that an opportunity should occasionally be afforded them to meet together in a sociable and friendly manner.' This parish has been merged in another, which has a separate church fund of £482 a year, from which £20 10*s.* 6*d.* appears to have been paid in 1868 for an audit dinner at the Crystal Palace. In another case the estate consists of nine houses and twenty acres of land, yielding an annual rent of £333. The trustees are eighteen in number. The whole body went once in three years to inspect the property, after which they dined together, till the affair was brought under the notice of the public, and charging £50 to the charity for their expenses. They thought it 'very desirable that the whole of the trustees should be intimately acquainted with the nature of the property!' The houses were let on a lease, expiring in 1876, and some of the leases of the land will not expire till 1926."

Another characteristic specimen of the management of the civic parochial charities is mentioned by Sir Charles Trevelyan, which it is worth while to quote if only for the absurdities, to speak in the most complimentary manner, to be detected in its administrations.

"There is a charity for poor widows, freemen, &c., with an income of £60 a year, the whole of which is derived from dividends. In 1868 the charge for management was:—

	£	s.	d.
To the seven trustees for dinner, &c. . .	8	0	0
Secretary and solicitor . . .	11	4	6
Total . .	£19	4	6

The same trustees made the following charge in the same year for the management of a loan charity:—

	£	s.	d.
To the seven trustees:—Expenses of attending eight meetings, at which six loans of £400 each were granted, and two paid off	53	0	0
Secretary and solicitor . . .	139	12	9
Messenger	35	0	0
Total . .	£227	12	9

TOTAL COST OF MANAGEMENT.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
1864 . .	209	16	0	1867 . .	216	7	1
1865 . .	220	6	0	1868 . .	227	12	9
1866 . .	200	7	9				

NUMBER OF LOANS GRANTED.

1864.	1865.	1866.	1867.	1868.
4	5	5	7	6

AVERAGE COST OF EACH LOAN.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
1864 . .	52	9	0	1867 . .	30	1	8
1865 . .	73	8	8	1868 . .	37	18	9
1866 . .	40	1	8				

Five years' average cost of each loan, £46. 15*s.* 11*d.*

"When another charity was founded in 1461 it seemed doubtful whether it would yield 40*s.* a year beyond some small charges for superstitious uses. It is now invested in a farm, yielding £275 a year, which is applied to doles and church purposes. In 1863 the trustees charged £15 15*s.* for their expenses in visiting this farm, which had been let in the previous year for twenty-one years, and yet in 1865 they charged £13 2*s.* 11*d.* for supervision."

It would occupy too much of our limited space to quote further instances of extravagance and other abuses in these City *parish charities*, of which the poor who have been driven from the City are deprived of all the benefits which were solely intended for their use and comfort, and we shall content ourselves with a mere list of their different descriptions and the value of their endowments, begging the reader to bear in mind that they are taken from a Parliamentary return published April 17, 1871, and that they are now more valuable than they were then.

	£	s.	d.
Education	16,851	11	6
Apprenticing	2,000	10	10
Clerical purposes	5,827	13	10
Carried forward . .	24,679	16	2

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward . .	24,679	16	2
Church purposes	29,317	18	7
Dissenting places of worship and their ministers	57	8	5
Public uses	7,169	11	6
Almshouse and pensioners . .	10,259	3	8
Distribution of articles in kind . .	3,605	7	1
Distribution of money . . .	5,371	1	8
General uses of the poor . . .	4,174	12	7
Medical	187	17	1
	£84,822	16	9

And yet this enormous amount for *parish charity* alone is fully absorbed in a district of the metropolis containing only 70,000 souls, among whom there are few or no poor.

CHAPTER IV.

LIVERY COMPANIES.

THE reader must not imagine that the instances we have given of the abuses existing in the administration of the City parochial charities and endowments comprise the whole list. There are scores of others, each of which, in its way, would have exhibited in its management as gross abuses or anomalies as the few we have mentioned. One element, however, in the administration of these parochial charities ought to be remarked. It is generally supposed that the greater the amount of temptation the more apt are the tempted to succumb, but in the working of these charities this idea seems to have been set at nought; the same rapacity, the same cupidity, and the same indifference to the objects of the trust placed in the hands of the administrators—no matter whether as trustees, churchwardens, clerical incumbents, or what not—is, without variation, to be distinguished in the whole. And certainly the scope of the different funds of these charities is very extensive. Those instances we have given show that many of these parochial charities are of great

value, others less; but the reader is possibly hardly aware to how small a sum many of them descend, but which are misapplied as regularly and systematically as the most valuable. In the words of Sir Charles Trevelyan:—

"The bequests represent every variety of private property, such as houses, cottages, stables, gardens, workshops, warehouses, wharfs, and farms. Shares in houses was one of the commonest forms in bequests. St. Botolph, Aldgate, alone, has one-fourth of ten houses. Other items are two houses and the site of five others. 'Part of site of premises, site of South Sea House.' Moiety of a small piece of land. Then of their parochial charities, many are of still less value; some of them are diverted from their original uses in a manner which almost excites a smile of ridicule. The Bishop of London's return is full of entries of this description: 'Allhallows Staining—£58 6*s.* 8*d.* to minister for reading prayers twice a day [not read], includes £7 to clerk and £4 13*s.* 4*d.* for ringing bell [not rung]. Allhallows Barking—to vicar for maintaining evening service in church [service not kept up]. St. Benet's, Paul's Wharf—£10 to rector for daily service in church [not read]. St. Catherine Cree Church—£19 2*s.* [lecture only occasionally delivered]. St. Mary Aldermary—£100 to lecturer for loans without interest [not accounted for]. St. Margaret Pattens—£95, morning prayers [not read for several years, or bell rung, notwithstanding the various endowments for the clergy and the repair of the church, besides a tithe-rent

charge]. St. Andrew Undershaft—£6 12*s.* paid to rector for evening prayers [only performed on Sundays and certain Wednesdays].' Was there ever," continues Sir Charles Trevelyan, "such a case of the house of God turned into a temple of mammon? The congregations have disappeared, and the sacred ordinances are discontinued or are performed to empty benches. The old 'superstitious uses' were respectable compared with this, for however unscriptural these ceremonies may have been, they were performed by persons who thought they were doing God a service. The ministers of religion ought not to be so tempted."

A better comment on this disgraceful state of affairs could not be placed before the reader than is to be found in a leading article of the *Times* newspaper, January 26th, 1870. When speaking of the abuses existing in the City parochial institutions and charities, the writer says:—

"The City has gradually ceased to have a resident population, and in consequence its various churches—too numerous, perhaps, even in its most crowded days—had been, one after the other, deserted until the service had to be performed to almost empty benches. Two or three paid officials and a few charity children, who sometimes had to be coaxed into accepting a bounty of which their parents stood in little need, constantly made up the entire congregation of a church large enough to accommodate many hundred worshippers, and amply endowed. The householders who with their wives and families had formerly filled its

comfortable pews had all gone to live in other parts of London, and their houses had been turned into offices, swarming with a busy crowd during the day, but at night, and from Saturday evening to Monday morning, with but one solitary tenant left in charge of them. The immediate waste of religious force was in itself evil enough, but it necessarily brought a troop of other evils in its train. The clergymen openly abandon the parishes, to the wants of which it was still nominally their duty to minister, and live miles away, appearing only on Sundays to go through the solemn farce of a service. In some cases the farce was not even gone through, though money was drawn for it, and thus obtained practically by false pretences. . . . The money was still forthcoming, and had, it seemed, to be paid to somebody, although the work for which it was generally set apart was no longer performed. Still greater anomalies arose in the attempt to dispose, without actual fraud, of the money originally set apart in each parish for the poor. The poor had disappeared, swept away into cheaper districts by the advancing tide of wealth, but the money to be expended on them was still there, and had somehow to be got rid of. Who can wonder that it was often scandalously misappropriated? We can say nothing of what may be called, by way of distinction, the negative evils resulting from such a system, although they are far from inconsiderable. The mere space, for instance, occupied by the churches, which thus served no other purpose than to bring religion into disgrace, might have been

turned to most profitable account in localities where every inch of ground had its high value in the market. The money misspent for want of proper objects of expenditure was urgently wanted for endless useful purposes already to hand."

And now comes the serious question: On whom ought the blame of this state of things to be cast? A good deal certainly falls to the portion of the City authorities for the abuse of their power in driving from the City boundaries the great mass of objects for whose use and relief the principal portion of these parochial endowments were originally intended. But, it may be asked, "Were there no officials or body of men whose duty it was to watch over the interests of the poor, especially in the distribution of funds placed in the hands of the civic authorities, and more or less under their control? And, in that case, did they do their duty in defence of the poor and needy?" The answer is a very simple one. There can be no doubt that the City clergy, as a body, were morally under an obligation to defend the funds placed under their control from waste and abuse; and yet it would be difficult to quote a single instance in which the City clergy, *as a whole*, have attempted to combine in defence of the rights of the poor. It should be remembered that by an Act of Parliament, the 37th of Henry VIII., the tithes of the City of London were fixed at 2*s.* 9*d.* in the pound on the actual rental; but this was paid into the common treasury of the parish, whence it was apportioned and applied to "the sustentation and relief of the poor, the

repairs of the church, and the support of the clergy." It is true that afterwards very considerable alterations and modifications took place, and the relief of the poor, in consequence of the urgent remonstrances of the clergy, was removed as an obligatory lien on the revenues of the church, leaving, however, at the same time, the moral duty untouched of rendering to the poor all that was their due; and this duty, it must be admitted, has been by them most disgracefully neglected.

Among the many excuses which have been brought forward in defence of the civic authorities and the clergy for their neglect of the interests of the poor may be especially mentioned the following. It is stated that the very nature of these parochial charities carried with them a very demoralising effect. As a general rule, the giving of these alms, or "doles," as they were called, tended to deprive or deteriorate the moral necessity which should be taught them of the duty of self-reliance; that these doles tended not only to pauperise, but to destroy the spirit of independence which ought to be fostered in the poor, leading them, in fact, into the path of professional mendicancy.

Nothing is more common than to hear this maxim continually quoted by our civic political economists, yet nothing can be more unjust or untrue to the great body of our industrial classes; for, if the matter were rightly viewed, it would be found that, *cæteris paribus*, no portion of the population carry, as a rule, the principle of self-dependence to a higher point. There is no grade in society, even to the lowest, in which

this honourable principle may not be detected. Let the reader, when he passes a string of men walking by the side of the road bearing what are commonly called "sandwich boards," having advertisements on them, back and front, of some public exhibition, or pushing shopkeepers' stock in trade, examine for a moment the physical condition of these men. At a glance he will see that not one in ten among them is capable of doing a day's work at any hard or skilled labour; and yet these men, in performing their monotonous duty, are actuated solely by a spirit of independence. Any individual among them would be eligible to be admitted into the district union workhouse as a pauper. Instead, however, he prefers (actuated by a spirit of self-dependence) to earn a miserable wage, scarcely sufficient to keep body and soul together, rather than obtain shelter in a workhouse, where the amount expended on him would be fifty per cent. more than that which he would gain by his day's work.

But the greater portion of these small parochial City charities were left principally for old women, especially widows; and it would be a singular and pleasing task to the reader were he to investigate somewhat minutely the manner in which these poor creatures live, as well as the trifle they contrive to live on. At the same time they perfectly well know that they have only to apply to the parish for outdoor relief, and they would be certain to receive it. Yet their spirit of "self-dependence" not only restrains them from asking charity of the rich, but they shudder with abhorrence at the idea of

submitting to the degradation of receiving parochial relief. Any one in the habit of reading the daily papers must frequently, especially in winter time, have had his attention called, under the head of "Coroners' Inquests," to the numerous deaths of old women, with verdicts returned of—"Died from want of the necessaries of life." But these inquests, as well as the collected returns of the cases of the kind, as published by the Local Government Board, give but a very slight idea of the number of such cases that actually occur. Any parish surgeon would endorse our statement, that vast numbers of these poor creatures die from starvation and destitution so protracted as to do away with the necessity of a coroner's inquest; so that, at the last, any trifling illness which overtakes them, possibly a slight cold, carries them off. It is more than possible, however, that were the subject further investigated it could be shown that the illness itself was of the most trifling description, but that the vital stamina of the patient had been so reduced by want as to be incapable of making head against it. Cases of this kind might be quoted by hundreds, in which the poor creatures had merely to apply to the parochial authorities for relief, who would have found them in fire, food, clothing, and shelter, and yet they preferred death itself to the pain of wounding their spirit of self-dependence.

Having now slightly touched on some of the acts of injustice inflicted on the poorer classes of those who, before their ejectment from the City of London, had been entitled to their share in the different parochial

charities and endowments especially bequeathed for their relief and comfort, let us now glance at some of the acts of a similar, or possibly worse, character perpetrated on them, both directly and indirectly, by the livery companies and Corporation of the City of London. Let us begin with the former, as, after all, to them will the greater portion of the blame be due; for in the present day, whatever it might have been at the formation of these guilds, they form really the most powerful body in the City. And in their case, let it be remembered that the injustice emanating from them does not fall simply on those poor entitled to the alms of the church, who in the cases last mentioned were the principal sufferers, but to a great extent on the whole population of the metropolis, rich and poor, with the exception of those individuals who having, by means more or less honourable, obtained the management of the livery companies, or, as they ought more properly to be called, if the funds at their disposal were justly administered, the City trade guilds.

Great as have been the acts of injustice perpetrated by the civic authorities, which have already been brought under the notice of the reader, they sink into comparative insignificance when compared with the oppression and indifference to public opinion exhibited by these companies. It would, perhaps, be considered scandalous if we were openly to state that these companies, according to the letter of the law, are not honestly managed. Again, if we did so, we should be making the assertion blindfold, and not from any result of

investigation; for, although we have taken some trouble in the matter, we have been unable to obtain, except to a very limited degree, any particulars sufficiently exact to enable us to bear out our statements. It must, however, be clear to all that, as an act of common justice, the livery companies ought to be carried out as closely as possible to the intention of their original organization; but, as we shall be able to prove, the direct contrary has been the state of the case.

We will not detain the reader by going into any elaborate description of the origin of the livery companies. The subject has been repeatedly written on by others, and so clearly and forcibly as to render any repetition a useless labour on the part of the author, as well as needless repetition to the reader. All we shall attempt to show is, the original intentions of the trade guilds, for what uses they were instituted, and in what manner their rules and regulations were carried out. Afterwards, we shall shortly show the condition that most of them are in at the present day, to point out as far as we are able some of the enormous funds at their disposal, and how little those for whose uses they were originally intended are benefited by them; that so far from their being used in the manner intended by those who bequeathed them, they are applied to totally different purposes, while the members of the real craft or trade who should in common justice be their recipients are, with very solitary exceptions, totally deprived of any share or benefit in the funds of the particular company which professes to

represent them. And this is the more iniquitous, as it was in great part the action of the City guilds, in conjunction with the Corporation, which so fully succeeded in ejecting them from the City of London.

There can be no doubt that the first formation of these guilds was instigated by a charitable feeling. A number of men joined together to raise funds for the assistance of the decayed members of what would now be called their "Benefit Society," as well as to assist each other to the best of their abilities in the time of sickness or distress. The clerical element also entered largely into their formation, for from the earliest date one of the principal officials of these guilds was the chaplain, who appeared also in great measure to act as their almoner. Then, again, they appear to have separated themselves into different trade societies, but this at first appears to have been very indistinct—members of different trades mixing together with one common great object, that was, in times of distress, to afford relief and assistance to each other. "It was not till the time of Edward II. when," Mr. Norton observes,* "we discern the first authentic mention of the mercantile nature of the civic constitution of London, and of the mercantile qualifications requisite in the candidate for admission to the freedom of the City. By one of a number of articles of regulation ordained by the citizens for their internal government, which articles were confirmed by the King and incorporated into a charter, it was provided that no person, whether

* "Commentaries on London."

an inhabitant of the City or otherwise, should be admitted into the civic freedom unless he was a member of one of the *trades* or *mysteries*, or unless with the full consent of the whole community concerned. Before this, no mention is made of any mercantile qualification to entitle the householder to his admission into the Corporation."

To show how completely these livery companies were composed of members of the different crafts and trades they represented, we may point out as an example the rules of the Grocers' Company. They chiefly regarded the qualifications of members, keeping trade secrets, the regulation of apprenticeships and of the company's peculiar concerns, and the uniting together of it "in brotherly love and affection." To these may be added, as forming a prominent feature in all the ancient communities, the regulation of their religious and other ceremonies. The charitable feeling of the grocers for unfortunate members was, says an eminent writer on the City guilds,* highly praiseworthy. "Any such becoming poor from 'adventures on the sea,' or advanced price of merchandise, or by borrowing and pledging, or by any other misfortunes, might, by ordinations of the wardens and company, be assisted out of the common money according to his situation (if he could not do without), when they were able to maintain him by the same money, to afford afterwards a settled asylum for distressed members; and

* William Herbert, "History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London."

all companies early built dwellings next their halls for their reception. Hence we may trace the various almshouses of the companies, which, though generally afterwards removed, owing to the increased value of their original situations, have in our own day been erected on other and more pleasant sites, in a superior style, and still form some of the noblest and most gratifying charities around London."

Respecting these "noble and gratifying charities" which, as Mr. Herbert justly states, are to be seen around London, it would be curious to inquire how many of them are inhabited by members of the craft or trade which bears their name, or of those who are receiving pensions from the companies. Certainly not more than one in a hundred; and yet we are told, not solely by the ordinary class of those who have usurped the trade guilds, but by the highest legal authorities, that such dispositions of the guild funds are not contrary to the law. How completely in their origin these companies were especially instituted for the benefit of the trades they represented, may be judged from the fact that one of the principal duties of the wardens and their officials was to examine minutely into the manner in which the tradesmen of the different guilds conducted their business, and if any infractions or acts of dishonesty were detected, they were punished, by fine or otherwise, by the members of their own trade or craft. Mr. Herbert gives some curious instances of this proof of the power of the different guilds over their fellow-tradesmen. "They had absolute jurisdiction," he says,

"over their respective trades, and, in pursuance of their right of search before mentioned, the principals of each company were accustomed, somewhat in the manner of a jury, to take regular rounds." The ordinances of the Grocers, for example (who for several ages had the oversight of drugs, amongst numerous other articles), enjoin their wardens "to go and assayen weights, powders, confeccions, plasters, oyntenents, and all other thynges belonging to the same crafte," and to notice every shop where they found defects, in order that they might be remedied. In like manner, we find the Goldsmiths had the assay of metals, the Fishmongers the oversight of and rejection of fish brought to London which they disliked, the Vintners the tasting and gauging of wines.

The Merchant Taylors' records, at a later date, state that company to have possessed not only the right of trade search, but that they kept a "silver yard" for the measurement of cloth, which is said to have weighed thirty ounces, and to have the company's arms engraved on it. With this standard they for ages attended West Smithfield during Bartholomew Fair, at the time when cloth formed the great article of commerce, and a part of the ground is from that circumstance still called "Cloth Fair." This custom appears from an entry in the company's account books under the year 1567, when it was directed "that fit persons should be appointed on the vigil of the eve of St. Bartholomew to see that a proper yard measure be used." And in 1566, we find one "Pullen" to have

been committed by the court to prison for using an unlawful yard found in his shop at the time of the search. These records further mention, under the year 1612, that it was the custom to have a dinner at Merchant Taylors' Hall for the search on St. Bartholomew's eve. All these searches were, however, subjected to the control of the City, and the searchers were not to act in violation of any of its privileges.

Similar examples of punishment to those of the Merchant Taylors for frauds met with on these occasions were very frequent in the books of the Grocers. Among others, the two following may be quoted as examples: "1456—A Fyne of John Aysfielde. M. That John Ayshfielde hath put him to rewle for offens don in makynge of untrewe powder, gynger, cynamon, and saunders, for which offens doon the wardeyns and the feliship associed be fully accorded that he shall maak a fyne of *vis.* viij*d.*; and in case so be that he be founde in suche another trespasse, that then he to be rewled by the avyse of the wardeynes and the felischipe associed; what they wil do ther in hye and lowe." And (same date): "A Fyne" wherein "John Fneyach" did "put him to rewle for offens doon in rydynge into countre with wares unsolde; for which offens doon ye wardeynes and the felischipe associed" fully conclude that he should pay a fine of 3*s.* 4*d.*

The wardens of all other trades seemed to have equal power over the craftsmen and dealers of their guild. The Fishmongers were no more exempt than other trades; on the contrary, their regulations were

most numerous. The freemen of the livery were prohibited from entering into partnership in fish with foreigners, who bring it in their ships, thereby to enhance the price. It was prohibited to store fish up in cellars to retail afterwards at exorbitant rates, or buy before the King's purveyors might have their choice. That no fish except salt fish should be kept in London beyond the second day, on pain of forfeiting of the fish and a fine. The profits of a London fishmonger, all of whom were members of their company, were limited to a penny in the shilling. Forestalling and regrating the market were prohibited, and none were permitted to sell their fish secretly within doors, but to sell it in the open market. No fishmonger was to water fish twice or to sell what was bad. If he broke either of these regulations, he was to be fined for the first offence 12 pence, for the second 20 pence, and for the third to be "jugyd to a pair of stockys" openly in the market-place.

It may be said, in extenuation of the Fishmongers' Company, that in the present day their guild duties are not quite extinct, several of them being carried out in a full and efficient manner, especially as regards the supervision of the fish, with respect to its quality and condition, which is brought into the London market, and that these duties are carried out in a scrupulous, just, and honourable manner. This fact, as far as it goes, may readily be admitted; but, at the same time, it is equally a fact that not a tithe of the expenditure of the Company, especially as far as the maintenance and

value of their hall, salaries, feasting, and other items are concerned, in the slightest degree benefits the trade or its poorer members they profess to represent. The same excuse for non-interference in the City companies is also brought forward in the case of the Goldsmiths, certain onerous duties in the surveillance of the value of the precious metals being carried out by them according to the strict rules of common honesty. But if in the case of the Fishmongers an immense proportion of the funds belonging to the trade guild are appropriated to other uses, they sink into insignificance when compared with the Goldsmiths' Company. The reader may, to a certain extent, judge of this fact any time when he may be passing their magnificent hall at the rear of the Post Office in St. Martin's-le-Grand, the rental of which, were it not their own freehold, would not, at the present value of land in the City, be less than £8,000 or £10,000 a-year, and that is far from being an exaggeration; for if a comparison of the value of lands and buildings which have lately been erected in the City of London were made, it would far exceed it. Let the reader, as he inspects this magnificent edifice, notice in one corner of it a small erection leading to the basement, where are placed the offices for carrying on the duties of what should justly be called the trade guild; let him afterwards examine the amount of space and the splendour of that portion of the building which is applied to feasting and various ceremonies belonging to the Company; and by comparing the amount of space occupied by official duties with that set apart for

feasting and entertainment of the members, he will be able to form a tolerably clear idea of the proportion of the funds which are applied solely to trade purposes, and of the proportion paid for the feasting and delectation of the great majority of its members, who are not in the most remote degree connected, directly or indirectly, with the craft and mystery of the company.

How completely the Goldsmiths' Company, as far as their trade purposes were concerned, was instituted for the benefit of handicraftsmen skilled in the working of the precious metals, may be judged from the following description given by Maitland in his "London," and quoted by Mr. Herbert in his "History of the City Companies;"—

"By the said grant Edward invested the Corporation with a privilege of inspecting, trying, and regulating all gold and silver wares, not only in the City, but likewise in all parts of the kingdom, with a power to punish all offenders concerned in working adulterated gold and silver, and a privilege of making by-laws for their better government. This company is governed by a prime and three other wardens, and ninety-eight assistants, with a livery of one hundred and ninety-eight members, whose fine, when admitted, is £20. They have a very great estate, out of which, according to the directions of the several benefactors, is paid to charitable uses above £1,000 per annum."

Every notice to be found respecting them proves them to have elected those in their body who were in the trade, and the guild was denominated "The Wardens

and Commonalty of the Mystery of the Goldsmiths." When the company was first confirmed as a guild they were ordered to elect "honest and lawful and sufficient men, best skilled in the trade, to inquire of and correct the grievances which they had complained of in their petition for a charter, and to reform and punish defects in their craft." How completely the Goldsmiths were a trading and manufacturing guild, the following short extract from their first charter will go far to prove. The charter says, "That all those who were of the Goldsmiths' Hall sit in their shops in the high street of Cheap; and that no silver in plate, nor vessel of gold or silver, ought to be sold in the City of London except at the King's Exchange, or in the said street of Cheap, among the goldsmiths, and that publicly, to the end the persons of the said trade might inform themselves whether the sellers came lawfully by such vessel or not: that of late, not only the merchants and strangers brought counterfeit sterling into the nation, and many also of the trade of goldsmiths kept shops in obscure turnings and by-lanes and streets, but did buy vessels of gold and silver secretly and without inquiry, and, immediately melting them down, did make the metal into plate; and sell it to merchants trading beyond sea, that it might be exported; and so they made false work of gold and silver, as bracelets, lockets, rings, and other jewels, in which they put glass of divers colours, counterfeiting right stones, and did put more alloy in the silver than they ought, which they sold to those who had no skill in such things."

The powers placed in the hands of the company for the punishment of offenders seem to have been most stringent, as we may judge from an extract from the "Chronicle of London," and quoted by Mr. Herbert. It says, "All the goldsmythes of London, and all those that kept on the Change, and many other men of the citee, weren arrested and taken for buyenge of plates of sylver, and for chaunge of grete money for small money, whyche were indicted by the wardes of the citee; and, on the Monday next after the Epithanie, the justyces sentence at the Yeld halle to make deliverance, that is to seyn, Sr. Stephen of Pencestre, Sr. John of Cobham, and others with them, to assist them, and there were forejugged and drawen and hanged iij. Englyshe christen men and xij. Englyshe Jewes."

From the following extract from their charter, renewed in the time of James II., the reader may judge how completely the charitable or benevolent element entered into the organization of the company, even from its commencement in the time of Richard I. It notices how "that many persons of that trade, by fire and the smoke of quicksilver, had lost their sight, and that others of them by working at that trade became so crazed and infirm that they were disabled to subsist but of relief from others; and that divers of the said City, compassionating the condition of such, were disposed to give and grant divers tenements and rents in the said City, to the value of twenty pounds per annum, to the Company of the said craft, towards the maintenance of the said blind, weak, and infirm; and also of

a chaplain to celebrate mass amongst them every day, for the souls of all the faithful departed, according to the ordinance in that behalf to be made."

Among the records of the Goldsmiths' Company one may especially be noticed, as tending to prove that all journeymen craftsmen could pass their apprenticeship and take up their freedom in their trade City guilds, and were then entitled, not only to a voice in its management, but also in the elections of wardens and superior officers. The dispute alluded to occurred in the year 1529. In the company's records it is stated "that this day Richard Cowper, Richard Asplyn, John Cranks, and others, came in before Mr. Wardens, the livery, and all other of the commonalty of Goldsmiths now assembled, and said that 'they wold none of the Elecćion or Chewsyng of Wardens, with much other vngoodly language and demeanour.' Whereupon, shortly after, a bill of the said ungoodly behaviour was made unto the mayor and aldermen of this city, according to the truth of the misbehaviour; the tenor whereof hereafter ensueth."

Cowper and his companions, in answer * to the petition of the wardens, sent into the Lord Mayor, &c., their counter petition, "in the name of the Committee out of the Livery of Goldsmiths," and which bears date the 14th of May in the same year.

They pray on behalf of the said committee—

"1. That they may have nomination of the wardens' election, as well as the commonalty or livery, inasmuch

* From Herbert's "City Companies," vol. ii. p. 147.

as they be all but one commonalty; and not to name the chusers,—The which is contrary to the King's letters-patent.

"2. That they may be informed where the lame, blind, and sick persons be found, with the £10 lands that were purchased by license in the days of King Edward III. and King Richard II., and to whose use it is put.

"3. There having been divers and many lands, tenements, and great sums of money, by gifts, wills, and testaments, given, granted, and bequeathed unto the wardens and commonalty, and their successors,—They pray to know particularly the quantity and quality thereof, that they may lament the decreasing thereof, or else joy in the increase.

"4. They pray that, inasmuch as they have a common seal, to be put forth for all manner of things and matters, in the name of 'the wardens and commonalty,' that it may not be put forth without the assent of the whole commonalty.

"5. That, whereas all ordinances and constitutions should be made by the wardens and commonalty,—They desire that there be none made without the assent of the whole commonalty.

"6. That, whereas the hall is granted to be common to the whole community,—They desire that it may not be several [distinct or apart].

"7. They lastly desire,—Inasmuch as all manner of works, as well of gold as silver, should be brought to the common hall of the Goldsmiths for proof and

examination, that the works of silver be not only brought there, but also of gold, for many and divers considerations."

The wardens on their part answered the charge of the members of the disaffected commonalty with considerably more legal tact than apparent justice, and endeavoured to weaken the cause of their adversaries by attacking the character of the complainants as being persons of light disposition and out of the livery of the same mystery, and also, it must be admitted, clearing themselves from the accusation of want of integrity of the administration of the company's charitable funds. In Cowper's and his associates' reply, they style themselves "the Artificers, the Poor Men of the Craft of Goldsmiths, to the Uncharitable and Slanderous Answer made and brought to My Lord Mayor, by them who usurp the name to be called the Wardens of the Mystery of Goldsmiths of London, for this year: and of Divers Others of their Adherents, who have been Wardens."

It would occupy too much space to go at any length into the dispute before the Lord Mayor between the artificers and wardens of the Goldsmiths' Company. A very few of the arguments brought forward by the artificers must suffice, though these will be sufficient to show the power the working craftsmen claimed to have, and were generally allowed to have, in the management of the affairs of the company. They commenced by saying, "That the said usurpers of the name of wardens slanderously called the said poor artificers

'Confederates and Movers of Division,' because they speak for their liberties by the King's grants, license, and commandments." The replicants contended that the said usurping wardens, &c., were not elected by the commonalty, *pursuant by the King's letters-patent*, as would appear by such letters, if they should be read; nor were they elected in the manner before used, which was, "That four of the names of the choosers should be pricked off by the commonalty, openly in the hall, but that by the sinister counsel of their clerk, they caused the 'Bill of Choosers' to be pricked by four or five householders (whereof one of them was of another occupation) and by divers others of their own servants secretly in a parlour, being altogether only sixteen persons in number; while the whole great company of the commonalty were expelled, and kept out by force and strength. And that they did not keep the impartial order of the Lord Mayor and aldermen, which was that eight of the livery, and five not in the livery, should charitably commune together for the reformation of all misdoers belonging to the said mystery. On these accounts they affirm that there were no wardens lawfully elected or chosen that year, and they therefore prayed the Lord Mayor, as *High Warden of all the City mysteries of London*, to take the whole of the funds, as well as the hall and different endowments of the Goldsmiths' Company, into his keeping." In the above dispute, which was carried on for a considerable length of time, the craftsmen, although they certainly lost their cause, as certainly established the

power of the commonalty or craftsmen in the management of the company and the election of the wardens and superior officers. The above short extract also shows the manner in which the wardens were elected, and the power the working men of the craft had in their selection.

CHAPTER V.

LIVERY COMPANIES (*continued*).

HAVING given two examples of the livery companies whose original institution and duties are in the present day not actually set at nought, let us now turn to some of the other companies of whose original duties not a trace remains, and whose officials, wardens, and different members of the company almost appear to have been selected the more readily as their ignorance of the trade which it is their duty to control was the greater. And this will appear the stronger when it is remembered that, by just right, every citizen of London has a claim to be admitted as member of the trade he is employed in. Mr. Serjeant Pulling, in his work on London, says, "It may nevertheless, however, admit of considerable doubt, whether every tradesman within London has not still an inchoate right to be admitted as a member of that particular company having a superintendence over his trade. These companies are not voluntary societies, consisting of persons chosen by voluntary consent, nor can the admission of members, as in the Corporation

at large, be considered to be settled by prescription, and confined to persons possessed of particular qualifications, as apprenticeship or patrimony. On the contrary, the charters of all incorporated companies expressly state them to be composed *of the working members* of the different trades or mysteries which they represent, and further, in many instances, requiring all persons in such trades, within certain limits, to become members thereof." Of these companies, of which the original purpose of their institution, whether as regards trade or the particular dispositions of charitable trusts placed in their hands for the benefit of the poorer members of their trade, appear to be lost, we will first select the Grocers.

The Company of Grocers, or, as they were originally termed, "Pepperers," were first incorporated by the name of Grocers in the reign of Edward III. Strype, speaking of them in his continuation of Stow, 1754, says of them, "This fraternity, anciently denominated 'Pepperers,' having changed their name, were, under that denomination, incorporated by the name of the Wardens and Commonalty of the City of London, which was confirmed by Henry VI., anno 1429. This company consists of a prime and three other wardens, fifty-two assistants, and one hundred and twenty-seven liverymen, whose fine of admission is twenty pounds. They have a great estate, out of which is yearly paid to the poor about seven hundred pounds." Why they acquired the name of Grocers has never been satisfactorily accounted for. Pennant absurdly ascribes

it to their having dealt in *grossi*, or figs. Ravenhill says that "the word 'grocer' was a term at first distinguishing merchants of this society in opposition to inferior traders, for they usually sold in gross quantities by great weights." He further adds, that "in some of our old books the word signifies merchants that in their merchandising dealt in the whole of any kind. But, in after times, the word "grocery" became so extensive, that it can now be hardly restrained to certain kinds of merchandises they have formerly dealt in; for they have been the most universal merchants that traded abroad, and what they brought home many artists of this society found out ways afterwards to change and alter the species, by mixture, confections, and compositions of simple ingredients, by which means many and various ways of dealing and trading passed under the denomination of Groceries: and, indeed, this city and nation do in a great measure owe the improvement of navigation to merchants originally exercising their mystery, as trading into all foreign parts from whence we have received either spices, drugs, fruits, gums, or other rich aromatic commodities." Almost every record in existence respecting the Grocers' Company, till a very late period in the last century, prove them to have been instituted for the double purpose of trade superintendence and organization, and benevolent purposes, especially to *members* of their guild and their *families*, as well as the administration of other charitable funds placed in their hands. In 1450 they obtained the office of garbeller of spices within the

City. The explanation of the term says, "The garbeller of spices is an officer of great antiquity in the City of London, who is empowered to enter any shop or warehouse, to view and search drugs, &c., and to garble and cleanse them." Herbert, however, says that garbelling was originally confined to pepper and other spices, and was deemed necessary to prevent their being adulterated, for which purpose a chief garbeller was appointed, and sworn to execute his office faithfully and impartially. The fraternity appear to have obtained this latter privilege in consequence of a petition presented by them to the Corporation of London conjointly with Angelo Ciba, Reginald Grillo, Tobias Lomellino, Branca Doria, and other Genoese, Florentine, Lucca, and Lombardy merchants, complaining of the unjust mode of garbelling spices and other "sotill wares;" whereupon it was ordered that any merchant who should for the future sell spices or other merchandise belonging to garbellage, without its being cleansed by a garbeller, chosen, accepted, and sworn for that purpose, should forfeit the goods. The Grocers' Company, as best understanding these commodities, were requested to recommend some member of their own body to the Court of Aldermen to fill this office, which they accordingly did, and Thomas Halfmark was chosen and sworn garbeller of spices and sotill ware.

How various and onerous were the duties imposed on the Grocers' Company may be judged from the following extract quoted from Herbert's "City Companies," and which also goes far to prove how important

a part their guild played in the administration of the trade under their control:—

"In 1664, the physicians having obtained a charter of incorporation, which seemed likely to abridge the sphere of the company's medical control, the following notice appears on the books: 'Divers members of this company trading in drugs made request and suit for the countenance and protection of the court in the freedom of their trade, against the invasion of the College of Physicians, who, having lately obtained from his Majesty a patent, with new and strange power of privilege and search, seizure, fine, and imprisonment, are attempting the passing of a bill in Parliament for the ratification of the same, which, if effected, will be an insupportable inconvenience and prejudice.'" They prayed the aid of the court, which was granted, and a committee appointed to consult and instruct counsel to defend them before the committee in Parliament; it was likewise ordered that the charges incurred by the druggists for the defence of their right against the physicians should be defrayed by the Grocers' Company. The "plague year," 1665, produced an order of the Grocers' Court, "that the election feast is to be forborne this year, upon serious consideration of the sadness of the times, and increase of this sore visitation of the City."

The charitable element, which, as we before stated, was indisputably the proximate cause of the first formation of the City guilds, is also to be noticed in their charter. Speaking of their funds and lands, "they are

to have and to hold them, and their successors for ever, in aid *of sustaining as well the poor men* of the said commonalty, as of a chaplain to celebrate divine service daily for ever."

And thoroughly they seem to have obeyed the regulation. Few of the livery companies had among the members of their craft who gave more nobly to the poor when living, or more noble endowments, than are to be found among the Grocers. But a singular fact presents itself to our notice even here—that the charitable contributions of the liverymen and freemen were the greater, proportionate means being taken into consideration, when the whole company consisted of members of their trade, and appear to have diminished in proportion as the lands on which the greater portions were held became, by the increase of the population and other causes, the more valuable. And not only did they confine their good deeds to the alleviation of misery, but they boasted, and loudly too, of their superior patriotism and courage. As early as 1374 we find that Sir John Philpot, a London grocer, fitted out a fleet at his own expense to repress the piracies of a freebooter named John Mercer, a Scot, who was consequently taken, with fifteen Spanish ships which he commanded, and all their rich plunder. Philpot afterwards conveyed an English army into Brittany with ships of his own hiring, and released more than a thousand victualling ships from the enemy. Fuller, for this and other patriotic acts, styles him, whilst living, "The scourge of the Scots, the fright of the French,

the delight of the Commons, the darling of the merchants, the hatred of some curious lords; but who was at his death lamented, and afterwards beloved by all, when his memory was restored to its due esteem." In fact, it would appear that boasting of their patriotism and prowess was somewhat of a weakness with the Grocers' Company, and in speaking of their martial deeds they were accustomed to make use of language occasionally verging on the bombastic.

John Churchman, sheriff in 1385, was founder of the Custom House, and first procured for the company the custody of the King's Beam. In 1410, Sir Thomas Knolles not only was a great benefactor of the Grocers' Company, but restored at his own cost the church of St. Antholin's, Watling Street. Several other grocers, among them Sir Thomas Cecil, were liberal contributors to the charitable funds of the Grocers' Company. Sir John Cutler also, and a score of others, were all equally entitled to the respect of posterity for their noble exertions on behalf of the poor, the advance of education, and the rebuilding, restoring, and endowment of churches. It would be a curious but somewhat painful contrast to draw, between the efforts of the present members of the Grocers' Company, in the furtherance of good works, and the deeds of their predecessors. Enough and to spare may be shown to prove the vast personal generosity and good management of their trust funds in former ages. With the members of the modern guild, although their integrity may be unimpeachable, yet objections might occasionally be taken to their

method of dispensing the charitable legacies of their ancestors. As to their personal generosity in adding from their own pockets sums of money to increase their present charitable capital, we hear but little indeed.

Let us now turn to another company, whose deviations from the original purposes for which they were instituted have been so great, as to leave scarcely a trace of their ancient calling to be found among them.

Machyn, in his diary, 1555, speaking of the "Marchand's Tayllers fest," held on the 2nd of July in that year, says that all the wardens and members of the company were not only tailors, but tailors' sons. "When it is recollected," continues a note in the appendix of the modern edition of Wilson's "Diary," "that the great City historian Stow, and his contemporary Speed, as well as Antony Munday, Thomas Middleton, and others, besides a fair proportion of civic senators and benefactors of former days, were tailors, there can be no reason to despise the brethren of this very necessary craft at any stage of its history, even if, besides manufacturing pavilions for our kings, robes of state for our nobles, and tents, &c., for our soldiers, they all condescended to become makers of ordinary garments, by stitching jerkins for our apprentices, doublets for our shopmen, and trunk-hose for our cooks."

Originally the tailor and the draper, though not members of the same fraternity as in the present day, went hand in hand together, each contributing equally

to furnish our necessary articles of clothing. The merchant tailors, however, as their wealth increased, appear to have felt ashamed of their humble origin, and attempted to prove, by the addition of merchant before their name, that they were raised above the ordinary acceptation of the trade in the present day. This, however, is simply untrue, and may almost be considered as a part or portion of the vanity and superciliousness which appears to have been an attribute of the company, if not from its earliest origin, certainly since James I. paid them the unfortunate compliment of allowing them to alter their name to Merchant Taylors.*

There cannot be the slightest doubt, notwithstanding the objection made by the members of the Taylors' Company in the present day to their origin, that they were as completely a trade guild as that of the Wax Chandlers, or Weavers, or any other craft. As a proof how completely the trade was handicraft from the earliest date, and not mercantile, may be seen

* The habit of boasting, common to the Taylors' Company, may be found frequently noticed by writers in the seventeenth century. Pepys, in his Diary, 1668, speaks of his annoyance in having purchased a book entitled "A History of the Taylors' Company," which he found so absurd and ridiculous, that he threw it aside in disgust. The title of the book was, "The Honor of the Merchant Taylors: wherein are set forth the valiant deeds and heroic performances of merchant tailors in former ages, their honorable loves and knightly adventures, their combating of foreign enemies, and glorious successes in honour of the English nation; together with their pious acts and large benevolences, their building of public structures, especially that of Blackwell Hall, to be a market-place for selling woollen cloths. Written by William Winstanley, London, 1668."

in a scarce tract of Deffelds, 1612, in which he narrates how the devil strolled into Birchin Lane, at that day the quarter frequented by the tailors, "knowing by his owne experience that everie taylor hath his hell to himselfe under his shop-board (where he damnes new satin), as amongst them he thought to find his best welcome, and therefore into Birchin Lane he stalked verie mannerly, pride going along with him and taking the upper hand. No sooner, however, was he entered into their ranks, than by the tailors, whose weapons are 'Spanish needles,' he was most terribly and sharply set upon; everie 'prentise boy had a pull at him. Hee feared they had all been sergeants because they all had him by the back."

But perhaps a still greater proof of their being a working craft may be found in the following extract quoted from their charter at the time they were allowed to call themselves Merchant Taylors. After mentioning that "the fraternity had authority to hold and enjoy lands, and all other possessions whatsoever, together with all liberties and privileges formerly granted them; to purchase, hold, and alienate estates, &c.; to plead and be impleaded, and to make and execute statutes and ordinances for the good and wholesome government, search and connection of the trade, audits, members, provided the same ordinances be not contrary to the laws and customs of England, nor unprejudice the Lord Mayor of London." Further, the King grants that the master and wardens may exercise full right of survey and search within the

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City and *suburbs* over all persons belonging to the fraternity or exercising its mysteries, as also natives, traders, and foreigners, *as well in the making, cutting, and working of men's apparel,* as howsoever otherwise using or exercising the same mysteries "within the *City and suburbs,* and that they may have the correction and punishment of all offenders among them, in matters of the said trade, so far as should be needful for the benefit and advantage of the King's liege people or otherwise whomsoever, provided such search and correction were exercised by the master and wardens according to the law of England, the ordinances and statutes therefore made, and the customs of the City of London." The charter further arranged that no person shall use the said art or mystery unless first admitted or authorised by the guild so to do, and that no right of search should be exercised over the trade within the City or liberties, "or by their goods and wares, woollen cloths, ells and measures, to the same mysteries belonging or appertaining," except by the said master and wardens, and saving whatever might be prejudicial to the authority of the Mayor of London.

But notwithstanding the ridicule heaped upon the Merchant Taylors' Company, infinitely less in the nature of their craft than their inordinate boasting, there were at the same time many very honourable, celebrated, and eminent men connected with them. Among these may be mentioned Sir John Hawkwood, who was the son of a tailor of Manningtree, in Essex, where he was born in the reign of Edward III. He was afterwards

sent up to London and apprenticed to a tailor; but when grown up to man's estate, and after apparently having taken up his freedom of the company, he was pressed into the army and sent abroad, where, in the words of Grainger, "his genius, which had been cramped and confined to the shop-board, soon expanded and surmounted the narrow prejudices which adhered to his birth and education. He signalised himself as a soldier in France and Italy, and particularly at Pisa.*

He afterwards entered into the service of Florence, where he died. The description of his deeds given, however, by the Merchant Taylors' Company have been from time to time so magnified and distorted, that at length it began erroneously to be suspected that Sir John Hawkwood was neither more nor less than a fabulous character, his reputed prowess approaching far closer to the heroes of fairy tales than that of an ordinary mortal.

Another hero of the Merchant Taylors' Company was a certain Sir Ralph Blackwell. But here again tradition has so mingled up his career with fiction that it is diffi-

* Although, as a successful soldier, it is customary to speak of him with praise and respect, if his real character were narrowly investigated, it is more than probable that Sir John Hawkwood would be adjudged no better than an unscrupulous mercenary, who was perfectly willing to sell his sword and his experience, which, according to the military science of that day, was certainly great, to the highest bidder. He married a natural daughter of Bernado, brother to Galleazo, Duke of Milan, with whom he received a large fortune. Finding it, however, afterwards to his interest, or yielding to a large bribe, he, without the slightest reluctance, turned his arms against his father-in-law.

cult to distinguish one from the other. Whittington, who is stated to have been a fellow-apprentice with Sir John Hawkwood, was certainly a real character, and one who tended more to raise the honour of his company than either Blackwell or the mercenary Hawkwood. Several other men of celebrity might also be mentioned, but none among them of such standing as to raise the company to a status superior in point of precedence to any other of the City guilds.

The Mercers' Company, one of the richest and most powerful in the City of London, may be quoted as another instance of the unscrupulous manner in which the original duties for which they were instituted have been set aside, till not a vestige of them remains. And yet, among the whole of the City guilds, there is not one in which the origin of the company can be more distinctly proved to have been a charitable endowment for the benefit of sick, infirm, and decayed members, and the regulation of the mysteries of the trade.

In proof that the Mercers' Company was originally established, so far as its benefit funds went, as a means for affording relief and assistance in poverty and sickness to their brethren in the "mystery of mercery," we have but to quote a short extract from their original charter, confirmed again in the reign of Elizabeth: "To all to whom these present letters shall come, greeting. Know ye, that whereas the Lord Richard, late King of England, our progenitor, the thirteenth day of January, in the seventeenth year of his reign, in consideration had, that several men of the mystery

of mercery in the City of London, often by misfortunes of the sea, and other unfortunate casualties, had become so impoverished and destitute that they had little or nothing in consequence to subsist on, unless from the alms and other assistance of the faithful in Christ, bestowed and accruing to them in the way of charity. And by reason whereof the men of the mystery aforesaid, in the City aforesaid, being voluntarily desirous to have and form some establishment, as well for the perpetual sustentation of such poor, as of a chaplain to celebrate divine offices, for the state of the said land, king, and the men of the mystery aforesaid."

Herbert, speaking of this company, says the word "mercer," in ancient times, was the name for a dealer in *small wares*, and not, as afterwards, a vendor of silks. Merceries then comprehended all things sold retail by the *little balance* (in contradistinction of things sold by the beam, or by the gross), and included not only toys, together with haberdashery and various other articles connected with dress, but also spices and drugs; in short, what at present constitutes the stock of a general shopkeeper. The mercers, in these periods of simplicity, chiefly frequented the fairs and markets; for we learn that, in 1290, mercers who attended the French fairs for trading purposes in some instances sat on the ground to sell their wares, and only paid a halfpenny toll, while others, who elevated their goods on stalls, paid a penny. Afterwards, the silk trade formed the main feature in the mercer's business, though for some time it appears to have been carried on by "the

silk women and throwsters of London," and who, in petitioning for their charter in the reign of Henry VI., prayed "that the Lombards and other strangers may be hindered from importing raw silk into the realm, contrary to custom, and to the ruin of the mystery and occupation of silk-making and other virtuous female occupations."

In 1561, we find the mercers to have been an actual trading company, and conformably to what is at present understood by the name *dealers in silk*. A notice of the Grocers' minutes of this year informs us, that the wardens of the Mercers were summoned before the Queen's council "for uttering and selling *velvets, sattens, damaskes*, at the great price they did, considering that her Majesty had brought her base coin to as fine a coin as ever was in England; which baseness of coin had theretofore been theirs, and other excuses for the high prices of all manner of wares, and that the nobility perceived no amendment of the prices of the said sort of silks, to the great offence of her Grace." The Mercers properly answered, that "they had no authority over those who sold silks unless they were members of their own company, and that retail trades of other companies were much more faulty, in proof thereof they requested their honours to send for the Grocers and take them to task, promising for themselves to make such reforms as would give satisfaction."

Every notice extant respecting the Mercers' Company goes to prove, not only that they were a body of traders possessing a charter for trade purposes, but that

all assistants and freemen of the company were considered members, and had a right to a voice in the election of wardens and superior officers, and to be relieved in times of distress from the corporate funds of the guild. It would almost appear that one reason for the alteration in the name and title of this company, in the time of Charles II., arose from the desire to prove that all classes of men who were freemen in the trade had a voice in its management. The alteration goes on to say, "that all and every of the freemen of the mystery of Mercers in London shall henceforward be a body corporate and politic, by the name of the Master, Wardens, and Commonalty of the Mystery of Mercers of the City of London, with perpetual succession, and shall under such name be capable of possessing estates of whatsoever kind in fee," &c. Nay, more, of all the City companies, none, till a very late date, possibly the commencement of the present century, appear to have more rigidly excluded outsiders and others not of their mystery from becoming members of their corporation. In the year 1701, Sir William Gore, a member of the Mercers' Company, was chosen Lord Mayor of London. In his speech at the dinner which afterwards took place in the Guildhall, he complimented the men of the "Mystery of Mercery" of having always kept their brethren to members of their trade; "while other companies," he continued, "had admitted strangers to the right of membership, they alone had kept to their trade, all being brethren of the same livery." In the present day it would, perhaps, be impossible to find one

individual in the guild who is even indirectly connected with the trade.

Again, the Drapers' Company is another which possesses few or none of the members of the trade for whose interests they were incorporated, and even if an exception could be found, all trade attributes which formerly belonged to the company are now utterly obsolete, and yet none had their trade duties and rights more thoroughly defined. They were formerly indiscriminately called drapers and clothiers, the former term seeming to have been applied to those who made and sold cloth in or near London, and the latter to those who brought it for sale from the country. Stow appears to make this distinction in speaking of Cloth Fair by Smithfield, where, he says, "the clothiers of England and the drapers of London kept their booths and standings." Like all the other City companies, the principal cause for their uniting as a guild was that of assisting each other in times of distress; the second, for the regulation of the trade. In proof of the former, Herbert says, "*The relief of the decayed brethren*, or, as the ordinances added, to those fallen in poverty, was provided for by an article which states that any brother having been in full livery for one year, and being in good name, who should fall into poverty or sickness, should by the whole body be admitted to alms. If he had never served as warden, he was to be allowed four marks a year, to be paid quarterly; if otherwise, he was to have fully fourteen pence per week from the box 'till the tyme that wyll increse them oderwyse.'" The

following addition is made to this article in 1503, at which time the company had built almshouses: "Provided always, that the poor so admitted shall dwell within the place, and use them always as an almonesman, and that such stuff as he shall bring with him shall rest in the house for his successor, after the discretion of this place, except he have a wife or child, in which case they are to receive his goods, and to immediately avoid the place."

The rules for the guidance of the trade portion of the Drapers' Company's duties prove in the most marked manner the utilitarian principles on which they were organized. A few of these we will quote, as their comparison with the manner the duties of the guild are performed in the present day may form in the reader's mind a somewhat ludicrous contrast.* Merchandising affairs, already noticed as the primeval custom of the trade guilds, peculiarly applied to the great staple commodity of cloth. The Drapers have a special ordinance in the sixth of Henry IV. about visiting the fairs of Westminster, St. Bartholomew, Smithfield, and Southwark, which forbids members, under the penalty of £10, from being found with goods at either of the above places "over the franchise," which was thirty days for Westminster, and three each for St. Bartholomew and Southwark.

At the two latter fairs the company, jointly with the Merchant Taylors, held their annual trade search, cloth

* For the following examples we are indebted to Mr. Herbert's "History of the City Companies."

being at both fairs the great commodity sold, the whole of which was subjected to the admeasurement of the company's measure. They had for the latter purpose the Drapers' ell, stated to have been granted to them by Edward III. It is variously denominated in their books as "the yard," "the company's standard," and other names, and the "new trymmyng" of it occurs as an annual item of expense, as well as occasionally the cost of a new bag for the company's standard. The searchers always had a treat on these occasions, though certainly what would now be thought a humble one. "Brede, wyne, and pers" (pears) constitute this entertainment, "at the searche of our Lady Feyre, in Southwark," in 1485, amounting that year to 15½*d.*; in 1496, 16*d.* is charged "for potacions at Southwark, at our Lady Fayr;" and in 1514 the sum of £1 2*s.*, the last payment being said to be "for the potacions at Robert Lazenby's aft^r ou^r serche at St. Barth'^ws even." Both these fairs, like that of Westminster, belonged in the Catholic times to the heads of religious houses; Westminster to its abbot, and St. Bartholomew and Southwark (or St. Mary Overy, as it is oftener called) to the priors of those monasteries. Another entry is as follows: "Accorded by all the aldermen of this fraternity and fellowship, and with the whole body of the same fellowship, that no member shall take with him at any time any person who is not of his own fellowship, to ride or go to any place in town or out of town, where cloth may be bought by any draper of this fraternity, or afford the agent of any other company any know-

ledge of any bargain making, or the knowledge of cloth, or of its price, or of any point belonging unto drapery."

Non-freemen were excluded from the trade, and it was a finable offence in members who employed them. A still higher offence was, any member assuming the functions of a clerk, and particularly in matters of apprenticeship.

In the year 1533, Thomas Benet, a member, being convicted of this double crime, namely, of keeping foreigners in his house and setting them to work contrary to the good ordinances of this house, and also that he had made a pair of indentures for one of his apprentices, called Roger Beston, instead of applying to this house, was ordered to bring a gauge or security to the wardens of £10 value, and being rebel and disobedient thereto, he was by the lord mayor imprisoned. After he had been confined a day and a night, he "made humble mediac'on," and was again allowed to appear before the wardens, with plate to the required value. Having in addition "behaved very humbly and penitently," he was told to pay 10*s.* as a fine and take his plate. But perceiving his gain lay in submission, he is stated to have accepted their kindness, that the wardens gave him again his gauge of plate, and only made him pay 3*s.* 4*d.*

When the fault was of a heinous kind, and particularly for continued rebellion to the masters, the penalty extended to expulsion. The article on this subject in the first ordinances states, "that any person of the

fraternity who was of misruled or evil frame should be summoned before the wardens and corrected as seemed good to their discretion. If he rebelled and would not obey their correction," the wardens were then to call the "Council of the Mystery," and they were to correct him after their discretion. If he would not obey their "rule and correction," they were to present him before the mayor as a rebel, and the said person was to be utterly discharged and put out from the fraternity and fellowship.

All these rules and regulations are, with the exception of one, now of course totally obsolete; but that seems adhered to by the present Drapers' guild with a tenacity which could hardly be surpassed. Under the head of "keeping the secrets of the craft," it was provided by an ordinance that "none do betray lytel thyngs said in counsell to others of the craft, nor no brother inform any stranger." The examples of the enforcement of this rule and its punishment were carried out with great strictness.

The Haberdashers and Clothworkers, both rich and powerful companies, were instituted for the regulation of the trades and the relief of the members in times of their distress, sickness, or decay. Their rules and regulations differ so little in form from those of the Drapers and Mercers, that it is hardly necessary to go into any minute details respecting them. The Clothworkers, by the way, in their charter or regulations, give an exact account of the different grades in their guild, which may be taken as the rule with most of the other livery

companies. They are curious as proving that, different both as respects dignity of position and duties in the trade or craft they might be, they were all equally members of it, and had, directly or indirectly, a voice in its management.

The first degree was *apprentices of the craft*, none of which, by the ordinances, were to take wages or to work journey-work.

The second degree was freemen, sometimes called *yeomanry*, sometimes *bachelors*. They were presented and were admitted to work by *journeys*, or *journey-work*. They entered into bond, however, not to work with any foreigner or non-freeman, but with freemen only of their craft.

The third degree was *householders*.

The fourth degree was the livery or clothing (that is, such as wore a gown or hood), and the livery or clothing it was which were called the fellowship.

The fifth degree was wardens, which office had also two steps: 1st, young wardens; 2nd, second wardens; the third or upper warden was the master.

The whole company, like the others we have described, were subject to the lord mayor and aldermen, who forced those who rebelled to be bound in recognizance in the Mayor's Court—fined for disobedience, for breach of the ordinances, disobeying the court of master wardens and assistants in general, as well as in the trade searches, and in extreme cases the lord mayor would commit to the counter.*

* Herbert's "City Companies."

It need hardly be said that the trade purposes for which these two last companies were instituted are totally obsolete, and the enormous charitable funds in the hands of the present so-called members of the craft and managers of the guild would be found, on a very little investigation, to be applied to uses far different from the purposes intended by those who bequeathed them. If they are not, they widely differ from the fate of the charitable and trade funds in the hands of those having the management of all other trade guilds. It would be a curious subject for inquiry to ascertain the amount of the enormous funds at the disposal of the managers, how many of these gentlemen are even remotely connected with the trades they represent, and how much of their charitable trust funds, if any, reach the members of the trade for whose benefit and government the guilds obtained their charters.

The Ironmongers', Leathersellers', Skinners', and other companies, all followed in the same line. In proportion as time passed on, and the wealth, either for trade purposes, or charity, or education increased, the duties of the managers and their interest in the trades they represented appear to have decreased in exact proportion, till hardly an element for which they obtained their original charters is to be discovered among them. Several—as, for example, the Merchant Taylors—repudiate with disgust the idea that members of that highly useful, but scarcely aristocratical, craft should be allowed a place among them. If any can now be found, there can be but two or three, and their admission can only have

been obtained by some strong marks of disapprobation, which a few years since burst from the public press at the exclusiveness exhibited by this company. Possibly the best example which could be given of the objectionable features to be found in many of our City guilds may be remarked in the Merchant Taylors. In their records may be found specimens of the most abject debasement before the powerful when the guild itself was weak, and the utmost arrogance when they were rich and imagined themselves, as at present, strong. An amusing contrast of these opposite states of feeling on the part of the guild is given by Mr. Firth in his admirable work on the Municipality of London.* "Very different," he says, "was the conduct of the companies when the Commissioners of 1835 received the royal command to inquire into the Corporation of London. Upon this occasion the Merchant Taylors distinguished themselves amongst the companies by their opposition. They told the Commissioners that 'they would meet them with unqualified resistance.'" King William IV. had commanded his loving subjects to give their best assistance to his trusty and well-beloved Commissioners, but the Merchant Taylors, administering a vast income amassed under public auspices, and held by them as trustees for public purposes—that is to say, for the training and supervision of tailors and breeches-makers—arrogantly set both King and Commission at defiance. It would be amusing, if not so

* "Municipal London," by J. E. B. Firth, LL.B. London: Longman, Green, and Co.

lamentable, to contrast this with their conduct in 1684. They were then foremost in craving submission. They begged the King, in their most servile language, to take back their charter; and when he granted them a new one, which he did the same year, they voted that all the company should wait upon the King and thank him. Judge Jeffreys, however, informed them that the King "accepted their thanks, but would excuse their attendance;" whereupon the company voted a present in plate for "the great and extraordinary honour he had conferred on them." It is exactly what might be anticipated—that the abject cowardice of 1684 would develop into the confident assumption of 1837; and that the title-deeds which the men of 1684 offered to the King, their descendants two hundred and fifty years later should claim as their "private property." James II. endeavoured to corrupt the electoral body of the companies, so as to use them for his own purposes; and still the Merchant Taylors were to the fore, and proposed to set up his statue in the Royal Exchange.

Before entirely quitting the subject of the origin and rules relating to the ancient organization of the City livery companies, we would bring under the notice of the reader one which was formerly of great importance, but which is now, except in name, completely extinct —the Brewers' Company. With the exception of the Leathersellers', this company possesses a more curious collection of records than any other in London. Nor must it be imagined that the trade guild was confined

to the master brewers; on the contrary, all the journeymen were as much members of the company as their employers, and had, either directly or indirectly, as strong a voice in its management as the master and wardens themselves. To show how completely the craftsmen or working men of this livery were considered members of the guild, let us quote an order issued by the wardens on the 15th of February, 1422: "That on the occasion of the King's visit to the City, all housekeepers (journeymen) of their company, and all the brewers' men of a salary of forty shillings a year, should provide themselves with new clothes to do honour to his Majesty." The trade rules and regulations of this company seem to have been most rigidly kept without regard to person, no matter how high his standing in the company might be. Some of the examples quoted by Herbert are exceedingly curious. "The books of the Brewers' Company, 1421," he says, "contain a long and curious story of the perverseness of one William Payne, at the sign of the Swan, by St. Anthony's Hospital, Threadneedle Street, which originated in his refusal to contribute a barrel of *ale* to be sent to the King (Henry V.) whilst he was in France." For this affair he was fined 3*s.* 4*d.* for a swan for the master's breakfast, and, refusing to pay, he was imprisoned. Afterwards, contemptuously resolving "not to wear the company's livery," he was brought before the mayor, and eventually imprisoned; but it is added, "was very long before he could be humbled and brought to good behaviour."

A swan, or the value of a swan, seems to have been a very common fine in the earlier days of our City guilds. Herbert quotes another example from the books of the Brewers' Company. "Another story," he says, "in which a swan was also the fine, occurred soon after. It details the ill-treatment of Simon Potkin, of the Key at Aldgate, who had paid 20*d.* to a friend to procure a certificate of the 'oppressive acts,' as they were termed, of the famous Sir Richard Whittington, then lord mayor, and who appears to have been particularly severe with the retailers of ale. This Potkin, on being fined by the chamberlain for bad measure, excused himself by saying that 'he had given money to the master of the Brewers that he might sell at his own will.' For this slander he is stated to have got into great trouble with his company, and to have been only finally pardoned on paying 3*s.* 4*d.* fine for a *swan*, to be eaten by the master, 'but out of which,' it is added, 'he was allowed his own share.'"

The long immunity from interference enjoyed by the City companies has resulted from negligence of their own interests on the part of London tradesmen—a negligence no doubt mainly due to absolute ignorance of their rights—an ignorance carefully fostered by the companies, who kept all their financial proprietary arrangements impenetrably shrouded in the breasts of a few in each company, so that neither the ordinary members nor the livery are suffered to know them; and those who do know them are probably bound by their oaths not to reveal what they know.

Before terminating our short description of some of the most prominent of the City guilds, it remains to mention a circumstance connected with them which is now, and has been for the last century, obsolete, and which must tend to prove how far the charitable element formerly existed in the organization of these guilds—the admission of women as members of the livery companies *—and was furnished by Mr. Edward Lawford, the then clerk of the Drapers' Company, to the Commissioners for municipal inquiry. Speaking of the Drapers' Company, the proper style of this company, he says, was "The Master, Wardens, and brethren and *sisters* of the Guild or Fraternity of the Blessed Virgin Mary of the Mystery of Drapers of the City of London." They possessed a livery by prescription, the numbers of which were not limited. There were many females free of this company; they invariably came on the lists for the purpose of participating in the charities of the company. Forty-two females had been so admitted since 1800, who participated equally in the benevolent charity of the company, and in those charities the company held in trust. They had a right to be admitted to certain almshouses, of which they, as free-women of the company, were entitled. Females were admitted by right of patrimony; "a majority of the females admitted partake of the charities of the company." Mr. Lawford would have rendered his evidence still more satisfactory had he informed us how many of the forty sisters nominated between the years

* From the *Times* newspaper, November 7th, 1834.

1800 and 1834 were directly or indirectly members of the drapers' trade. It is very probable he might have had some difficulty in finding any, and yet at the origin they were distinctly working members of the trade, for we find in one of the earlier rules of the guild, 1503, the following extract: "Every brother or *sister* of the fellowship taking an apprentice shall present him to the wardens, and shall pay 13*s.* 4*d.* instead of 3*s.* 4*d.*" Again, among the ordinances a few years later, the right of sisters to take apprentices, and the fee to the wardens, is distinctly specified. The ordinances also protect them from arrest in their business by other members without leave given. Sisters, when they were buried, had also the use of the best "pall," "for the Drapers' Company kept two of great magnificence, to be used at the interment of their members," and were followed by the fraternity to the grave with every respectful ceremony equally as the men. The Grocers' Company had also many women members, and in some companies—for example, that of the Brewers—they were admitted equally with the men. The Fishmongers' Company also had many. The sisters had also, in like manner with the brethren, their distinctive dress or livery, and frequently took part in the different processions and ceremonies of the craft or guild to which they belonged.

Speaking of the present condition of the livery companies, Mr. Firth justly says,* "Their charters remain unrepealed, and whilst they are the very titles under

* "Municipal London."

which the companies claim to hold their exceptional rights, yet where they provide that all the members *then using*, or thereafter to use, the particular mystery in London or in the suburbs shall be members, there the governing body quietly ignore them altogether, and deny to a City or suburban tradesman the rights which are plainly given him by the charter, as are the rights of holding land and of perpetual succession. And so well is it known that these charters, whilst useful as titles to property, are altogether disregarded so far as their correlative responsibilities are concerned, that the policy is generally pursued of declining to produce them at all. They are alleged to be private property, with which no one else has any more right than he has with a man's title-deeds."

CHAPTER VI.

LIVERY COMPANIES (*continued*).

THE principal feature of the ancient City guilds which is apparent among them in the present day is their inordinate love of feasting; but even here, in one respect, they differ considerably from the ancient usages of the different livery companies—that of having the sisters of the craft or trade present on the occasion. Again, another difference also deserves mention—that of their origin. The members of the different trades contributed from their own pockets, and not out of the corporate funds, the cost of the feast, although it is but justice to add that this last regulation soon fell into disuse, and the expenses were defrayed out of the common funds of the livery. Herbert quotes some amusing instances of this love of feasting among our ancestors. In the Grocers', for example, "those of the livery who attended were to pay 3*s.* 6*d.*, those who did not 2*s.* 6*d.*, which sums were to go towards the joint expenses of the dinner and the maintenance of the priest; persons not in the livery, and who kept shops, were only to pay 12*d.*" But after-ordinances state, "every man, being a brother to the fellowship, and in the clothing

of the same," that did not come "unto the dynner or soper that should be made for the eleccion of the wardeyns yearly," was to forfeit 5*s.* to the use and behalf of the fellowship. Not only did widows, wives, and single women, who were members, join the joyous throng, but from the Grocers' ordinance of 1348 we find the "bretherne" could introduce their fair acquaintances by paying for their admission, and that not as, in modern times, to gaze in galleries, the mere spectators of good living, but as participants. There is an amusing simplicity in the ordinances alluded to of the Grocers on these points. They enjoin that every one of the fraternity having a wife or companion shall bring them to the feast; every man, it is added, shall pay for his wife 20*d.*, or man and wife, 5*s.*, that is to say, 20*d.* for the man, 20*d.* for his companion, and 20*d.* for the priest. Women not members, but who should afterwards marry members, were to be entered and looked upon "as of the fraternity for ever, and be assisted and made one of us." If left a widow, such female member was to come to the annual dinner, and pay, if able, 40*d.*; but in case she married again to one who was not of the fraternity, she was to be expelled, and so to remain during such marriage. "Nor none of us ought to meddle or interfere in anything with her on account of the fraternity so long as she remains married." The admissions of different companies of course varied with circumstances. The brothers of the Brewers' Company, for example, were to pay 12*d.*, the sisters 8*d.*, and a brother and his wife

20*d.*; whilst among the Fishmongers the members were to pay towards the feast on their quitting the church—for a religious ceremony always took place before any of these feasts—every man 12*d.*, and for his wife 8*d.*, and each for "his gest in the same manere at the assemble as the wardeynes shall reasonabilly ordeyne."

As time passed on, the sisters seem to have been treated with still greater respect, no charge being made for their presence at the feasts. In the Drapers' Company, for example, in addition to the various apartments for the use of the members, one is called the ladies' chamber, or retiring room. The ladies' chamber, says Herbert (an apartment which the company still retains, and under the same denomination), was a splendid room, solely appropriated to the uses of the sisters of the livery, and in which they occasionally had separate dinners, instead of mixing with the company in the hall. The married ladies only, and those of the highest class, are mentioned as its guests: the "Chekker Chamber" is described "to have been set apart for maydens." Both married and single sisters, however, more usually partook of the hospitality of the hall with the "brothers."

When the ladies dined in their chamber, they were treated with high distinction. They sat at the upper or side tables according to their rank, and the length of those tables shows they must have been capable of accommodating a great many guests—"towels, or table-cloths," "for the side table in the ladies' chamber,"

being mentioned eight yards long. The fare was the same as at the court table. It included at the election feast in 1515, brawn and mustard, capon boiled, swan roasted, pike, venison baked and roast, jellies, pastry, quails, sturgeon, salmon, and wafers and ipocras, which were served up in five "messes," or courses. The second ladies' table was served with four courses, and a like number of courses were provided "in the Chekker Chamber for the maydens." Amongst the ladies present on this occasion, amounting to thirty-four in number, were the Lady Mayoress, Ladies Capell, Harriott, Aylmer, Achilly, Mormoux, and Fenkyl, the sheriffs' ladies, and "lady wardenesses," &c.

It would take up too much space to go at any length into the description given by different authors of the lavish expenditure incurred by the trade companies on these feasts; suffice it to say that the gluttony of our ancestors fully equalled that of the guilds at the present day, though some excuse may be offered for the former from the fact that civilisation was then far less advanced than it is now. Still, from the time of Chaucer to that of Henry VIII., considerable improvement in culinary matters was observable. The porpoise and fat hog were far less frequently to be found on the tables of the livery companies, though even then the viands were coarser than those now in fashion. For example: the midsummer feast, 1515, of the Drapers' Company, cost £64 8*s.* 2*d.* Herbert describes the items provided, which included 100½ load of faggots, and a load of "talwood," price 7*s.* 8*d.*; a barrell

of sturgeon, containing 22 jowls, besides rounds and middles, 40*s.*; three boars, 34*s.*; Hall, the poulterer, was paid in "arrest" of his poultry £4, and £6 was paid to him afterwards; a "load of coles," containing 31 quarters, cost only 1*s.* 4*d.*;* 24 dozen quails, £4 10*s.*; 45 pike, £3; 2 sacks of meal, 8*s.* 10*d.*; 1 hogshead of red wine, 1 hogshead of claret, 1 hogshead of white wine, including porterage, £10 5*s.* 6*d.*; 21 gallons of muscatel for ipocras, £1 16*s.* 8*d.* Lady Chapell sent the company a fine buck, and five other bucks were recorded from different persons named, all of whom received rewards or compliments in return. The water bailiff's servant was paid 6*d.* "for his diligence about the saumons." Of ale there was drunk 13½ barrels, besides 3 kilderkins of "single beer." For cooking this great feast, the company's cook was allowed £1 13*s.* 4*d.*, exclusive of sums paid to the "turn broches" and other menials of the kitchen. Three pence was paid for a potell of sweet wine for the *singers*, and 30*d.* for the priests and clerks of Saint Michael's, for the "solemnpe masse" on the preceding Sunday. Two pence is charged for mending "the garlands appertaining to the master, and also to the bachelors." And, lastly, which forms one of the most interesting items, as deciding the fact of there having then existed regular companies of actors, is the following: "To John Slye and his company, for two plays on Monday and Tuesday (including Robert

* Herbert must certainly have made some mistake in the cost of this item."

Williams the harp and Henry Colet the luth), 4*s*. Again, a proof of the fact that the ordinary members of a livery company were traders or craftsmen of the particular guild which bears its name, may be seen in several instances in Machyn's Diary. Speaking of a dinner, in 1555, of the Merchant Taylors' Company, he remarks that all the members then present, as well as the wardens, were not only tailors, but tailors' sons, and that this dinner was numerously attended may be judged by his noticing that "they had agaynst their diner 8 bokes (bucks) and 2 stayes (stags)."

Another attribute to be found at the livery feasts of our ancestors, in common with those of the present day, is the abject sycophancy they showed to persons of title and other dignitaries they invited as guests to their feasts. Persons of high rank, when invited, were personally waited on by the heads of the company. We find an instance in 1496, when the accounts charge 4*d*. "for bote hire to desyre my Lord Tresorer to our feste," who at that time was William Paulet, first Marquis of Winchester. The most usual of the great guests, however, at these entertainments, were the dignified and conventual clergy, as will be seen by a slight notice of strangers, &c., present in the year 1519.*

"At the election feast this year, there were among the guests, "My Lord Bishop of Carlisle, the minister of Saint Thomas Acon, the prior of Christchurch (Holy Trinity, Aldgate), the prior of Saint Bartholo-

* Herbert.

mew, the prior of St. Mary Amys, Sir Richard Broke, judge and knight, the priest of St. Lawrence, the principal of the Austin Friars, the prior of the same place, the parson of St. Mighels, the sheriffs," &c. The guests of eminence, with other strangers, consisted of seventy-eight persons—forty-four men, and thirty-four women. One other circumstance ought, in justice to the givers of the feast, to be mentioned: "The poor almsmen of the company also attended, and had severally their rewards."

It should also be mentioned that the lavish expenditure of the livery companies and others brought on them and the clergy strong remonstrance from many of the leading clerical reformers of the day; among others Bishop Latimer, who preached a lecture on the subject at Paul's Cross. In a letter written by Thomas Dorset, curate of St. Margaret's, Lothbury, to the Mayor of Plymouth, he says:—

"On Sundaye last the byshope of Worcestre preched at Paules Crosse, and he said that byshopes, abottes, priores, parsones, canones resident, pristes, and all, were strange theves, ye dukes, lordes, and all; the king quod he made a marvielles good acte of parliamente, that certayne men shoulde sowe every of them two acres of hempe, but it was all to litel, were it so muche more to hang the theves that be in England. Byshopes, abbotes, and such others, should not have so many servauntes, nor so many dysches, but to goo to their first foundacion, and kepe hospitalite to fede the nedye people, not jolye felowes with golden chaines and

velvet gownes, ne let them not ones come into the houses of religious men; let them call them knave byshope, knave abbot, knave prior, yet fede none of them all, nor their horses, nor the dogges." Could a Latimer be found among our modern bishops he might do good service, not only in the cause of the poor, but of Christianity itself, by employing his energies to the reformation of the livery companies and Corporation of the City of London. By changing a little of his phraseology, and substituting for the words, "bishoppes, abbottes, and such others," the words judges, peers, members of parliament, and bankers, &c., he would find sufficient material for another sermon such as his predecessor preached at Paul's Cross.

To go at any length into a description of these modern guild dinners would be a useless waste of time; suffice it to say they, as a rule, are conducted on a scale, if not of good taste, at least with the most lavish expenditure. A friend of the author's was one day present as a guest at a dinner of the Mercers' Company, and was seated near the prime warden. During the meal the company near him drank freely of a light hock of exquisite flavour but little strength. The guest openly expressed his admiration of the quality of the wine. "It is certainly very beautiful," said a gentleman near him; "I will tell you what we gave for it." Then referring to a card near the warden's plate (one of that gentleman's duties being during his term of office to see that the wine drank at the feast

was reinstated in the company's cellars with other of equal value), he continued, "that wine costs us 104*s.* a dozen." The guest afterwards, when speaking of the price of the wine to a friend, the latter, a member of the Goldsmiths' Company, said, "One hundred and four shillings a dozen! Why, when the Prince of Wales dined with us, the cheapest wine on his table cost the company 120*s.* a dozen." It may be added that at the Mercers' feast, the guest alluded to was informed that there were no fewer than five haunches of venison on the tables.

Another anecdote worth repeating was also brought under the author's notice. A gentleman was invited to dine at a dinner given at Richmond by the Dyers' Company. "We follow," said the inviter, "in our country feasts, the good old custom of allowing ladies to be present, so you can bring your wife with you if you please. It will be a capital dinner, and will not cost us, one way or the other, less than £3 a head. I am going to-morrow, with another on the dinner committee, to order it. We are each allowed two guineas for our private dinner and expenses, so it will be a pleasant little trip for us. By the way, if you and your wife go, I will send you a couple of guineas for your railway fare. We are very particular not to let our guests be at any expense." "You seem to do things in a very liberal manner," said his friend, "but allow me to ask you one question. Are there any members of the dyers' trade in your company?" "In that respect," replied the inviter, "we differ from many

others of the City livery companies. We have *one bonâ fide* member of the craft still with us."

Mr. Danby Seymour, in a lecture he gave to the St. Pancras Working Men's Club, April 5th, 1876, with great justice, when speaking on the extravagance of these modern trade guild feasts, said, "Why should a humble guardian of some little metropolitan poor-law union be overwhelmed with a shower of abuse, because he buys a bouquet of flowers and hires a fly to dine at Hampstead, all at the expense of the poor, and some rich City guild be smothered with praise for its princely hospitality, because it entertains princes and ministers, and pious members of the House of Commons, out of funds devoted by those who left them to the regulation of the trade which the company represented, the spread of technical education, and the relief of poor decayed members of the craft? That there should be reasonable hospitality is just, but don't let us have £30,000 a year spent by one company on what may be justly called bloated banquets. To my mind, the vast boxes of bonbons distributed to the guests at some City banquets are just as reprehensible as the bouquet of flowers which the guardians bought out of the poor-rate to grace their feast. Only the guardians show a more delicate and æsthetic taste than the City magnates."

Mr. Seymour might have gone further, and brought under the notice of his hearers a singular contrast between the feasts of the City guilds in bygone days and those of the present; and the singularity is further increased as the contrast exemplifies in a striking

manner the benevolent feeling which formerly played so honourable a part in the old City feasts, and the abject selfishness and gluttony of the modern. Formerly, when plates and dishes were considered luxuries—the slice (or trencher) of common bread generally doing duty for the former—and forks were unknown, beside the guests' seats were placed baskets of wicker-work, known as "void baskets," into which scraps of meat, pieces of bread, and other eatables not consumed by the guests, were thrown. The feast over, the contents of these void baskets were distributed among the poor, especially those confined for debt in the City Prison. Frequent allusions to this practice were made by our older writers, especially the dramatists. By degrees the practice fell into disuse, but the guild continued the charity in a different form. At the present time, in another form, it still exists, but, oh! how changed, both in principle and practice! It has now assumed the form of boxes of costly bonbons, presented to those who, satiated with the feast they have partaken of, can eat no more, to carry home to their wives and families. It has been roughly estimated that the annual cost of these bonbons would provide yearly a Christmas treat, not only for the poor inmates of our metropolitan workhouses, but for all the children in our London district schools as well, and this from the mere extra waste of our selfish and extravagant livery companies' feasts, the whole costs of which are paid for from funds bequeathed for trade and charitable purposes.

To return to Mr. Seymour and his lecture at the

St. Pancras Working Men's Club. Still speaking on the subject of these sumptuous City feasts, he says :—

"Sometimes, on feast days, a few pounds are distributed to each liveryman, and this is said to be according to old custom. A seat on the court of assistants itself carries a salary with it, and all meetings of committees are paid for. In some companies there are dinners twice a week, and, in addition to salaries, sometimes the guests find a five-pound note delicately secreted under their plates. Huge boxes of bonbons are also distributed to the guests. Relations are educated at the companies' schools, or accommodated with exhibitions to the universities free of expense; sometimes a relation is presented with a living of which the company is patron; while poorer friends are provided for in almshouses and by pensions."

"A knowing hand, and one well acquainted with City matters, gave it as his opinion, derived from long experience, that it was the abuse of the ancient virtue of hospitality which had gained for the City companies this license to abuse their trusts and squander the public money. 'The dinners have done it,' he said. 'Feasting and joviality always formed part of the system of these old societies; but in the earliest times the feasters paid for their own dinners, and in their best times they executed the important duties of the benefit societies and trades unions and public analysts of our day. The great bulk of their funds was devoted to public purposes, and they did not, like the Goldsmiths' Company of our own time, spend £30,000 a-year on dining.'"

It would be curious, and certainly from all external experiences not difficult, to investigate the cause of the lavish expenditure on our City feasts. It certainly has strongly the appearance of an attempt, on the part of the livery companies (to use Scripture phraseology), to make themselves friends with the mammon of unrighteousness. By this means they contrive to gather round them persons of importance, influence, and high standing, who, doubtful of the right of expenditure made for their entertainment, hardly like to attack those of whose hospitality they have so sumptuously profited.

Nor are we alone in this supposition. Mr. Firth, in this respect, certainly goes entirely with us: "They (the livery companies) are careful to be on the best possible terms with the powers that be. Officers of the government and dignitaries of the law are regularly invited to partake of their 'noble hospitality.' No one who has partaken of these gorgeous banquets can find it in his breast to treat his hosts harshly. The source of the funds and of their misappropriation seem matters of small moment, after dinner representing the perfected skill of four hundred years of continual dining. No one who has quaffed rich wines from the chased goblets of the Skinners' Company is inclined to be over inquisitive as to their charters; and no one who has sat at table with the Merchant Taylors troubles himself to ask how many tailors there are in the livery. So, by the most delicate and graceful suasion in times of quiet, the companies prepare themselves friends in times of need.

One of our Lord's parables thus receives excellent exemplification."

And here, again, should be noticed a peculiarity existing between the guests and honorary members at the ancient City feasts, who were not of the trade guilds, and the members of those of our own time. The modern liverymen are particularly fond of quoting, in excuse for the present organization of the companies, that formerly kings, princes, and noblemen of the highest position in the State were members of the guild, and that they are equally justified in admitting judges, chancellors, princes, dukes, and others, to be members of those of the present day. But a very slight investigation would discover a totally different state of affairs. It is true that formerly, almost at the first institution of these guilds, monarchs, nobles, and other magnates were admitted into the company, but solely as honorary members, the livery and commonalty of the company strictly confining their members to the brethren and sisters of the craft or trade. How different is it now, when members belonging to the trade or craft are almost, without a figure of speech, driven from it, while those unconnected with it absorb and control the whole management and funds, as the following short extract from the *Times* newspaper, October, 1876, will show :—

"The seventy-six great and small livery companies or guilds of the City of London contain in their list of freemen the following, among other eminent persons: the Prince of Wales combines the two trades of Fishmonger and Haberdasher; the Dukes of Connaught,

Edinburgh, and Cambridge are Fishmongers, as are also Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Lowe, Mr. Samuel Morley, Sir Morton Peto, Mr. Russell Gurney, Sir A. D. Sassoon, and the Barons Lionel and Nathan Rothschild; the Marquis of Lorne and Baron Heath are Grocers; Lord Beaconsfield, Sir Richard Baggallay, Q.C., M.P., Sir Moses Montefiore, and Sir Anthony Rothschild are Merchant Taylors; Sir T. G. A. Parkyns is a Cook; while the Rev. C. Q. Jackson and Sir David Salomons are Coopers; Mr. Justice Lush and the Recorder for Manchester are Curriers; Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Ward Hunt, Rear-Admiral Sir John Hay, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, and the Right Hon. J. R. Mowbray are Feltmakers; Mr. Cunliffe Brooks, M.P., Mr. W. H. Peek, M.P., and Sir Thomas Gabriel are Goldsmiths; Mr. Ayrton and Sir Charles Whetham are Leather-sellers; ten clergymen, including a bishop, together with the Lord Mayor, Colonels Palmer and Holmes, and Mr. James Watney, M.P., belong to the liveries of the Drapers, Mercers, and Haberdashers; Mr. Goschen, Archdeacon Jennings, Sir Thomas Chambers, Sir A. Lusk, Mr. Newdegate, Mr. R. N. Philips, Mr. Hart Dyke, M.P., and the Hon. Stuart Wortley, are Spectacle-makers; among the Turners, Sir Bartle Frere, Sir Samuel Baker, Mr. John Macgregor, Sir William Armstrong, Sir Gilbert Scott, and David Chadwick appear; Sir George Elliott, Sir Charles Bright, and Colonel Burdett are Needle-makers; the Rev. A. C. Ranger is a Pewter-pot maker; Mr. Digby Seymour and the Vicar of Wandsworth are Plumbers; while Mr. Har-

dinge Giffard is a Saddler; Sir W. H. Humphreys is a Tallow Chandler; Sir Francis Hicks is a Salter; and the Revs. H. Wadmore and E. Burbidge are Skinners. Among others, Sir Richard Wallace, Sir Gilbert Campbell, Sir P. Colquhoun, Q.C., Colonel Dyot, Hon. A. G. J. Ponsonby, and Colonel Sir H. Wilmot are Coachmakers."

All the gentlemen above named are not "honorary" but direct members of the different crafts, and to their names may also be added those of Lord Selborne, late Lord Chancellor, who is now prime warden of the Mercers' Company, and Sir Alexander Cockburn, Chief Justice of the Court of Queen's Bench. Several other names almost equally eminent might be added; but the above will show not only how differently constituted are our trade guilds of the present day from those of our forefathers, but another lesson may be culled by the municipal reformer that may stand him in good need—without combined and energetic union on the part of all those directly or indirectly injured by the present organization of the Corporation of the City of London, all attempts to obtain our rights as citizens and reorganize the Corporation and the civic municipality will be useless. Again, we agree with a writer in the public press, whose contributions, though under an assumed name,* are well known to be from the pen of a gentleman who has probed deeply into our metropolitan civic abuses, when he says, "We protest against princes bolstering up by their presence the great unreformed Corporation, and

* Nemesis.

we caution their advisers that neglect of popular discontent may lead to strong reminders. Their absence, and ignorance thereby of popular feeling, will condone visits determined on, but which cannot be repeated without results damaging to the Court party. Is the weight of a Court to be thrown into the scale against a popular movement? Is reform to be stayed because the Court pleases to shut its eyes to popular indignation against a hideous abuse in our midst? The summons of the herald at the entrance to the pavilion of Guildhall will reassure the Corporation of Court favour and succour in their misdoings."

As the whole cost of the sumptuous banquets are really paid out of the pocket of the London tradesmen, craftsmen, and other industrials, who earn the means of existence by the sweat of their brow, the efforts of their brains, or both combined, let us see as far as we can, to what the total will amount, promising that we will take the different items at their minimum, so that if we are in error we cannot be justly accused of prejudice or exaggeration. At the same time, should we in any item be incorrect, we trust the reader will attribute it to the difficulty we have experienced in getting any information from the livery companies or their officials.

Mr. Seymour, when speaking of the enormous costs of these feasts, appears hardly to have gone deep enough into the matter. Had he given the subject a little more consideration, he would have found that the amount indirectly incurred for one item omitted alone is immeasurably greater than the cost of the feasts them-

selves, extravagant as they may be—and that is, the value of the halls in which these banquets are given; and we trust we shall be able to prove to the reader, that although this abuse is frequently less spoken of than any other, it deserves as much if not more reprobation than all the other items of the feast put together. And here, again, some singular contrasts may be drawn, and some which may tend to strengthen our case, between the uses of these buildings in former times, when the trade guilds were honourably what they professed themselves to be, and those of the present day. On the first institution of these guilds, there is no doubt that the word (Hall) described purposely the place of meeting of the members of a livery company. It was evidently at first nothing but a large room; but afterwards, as the duties and uses of the guild became more onerous and extensive, other apartments were added to it, each having its own particular uses. Everything appears to have been carried out in a most primitive manner; the floor was strewed with rushes, and the tables were simply boards placed on tressels, except, perhaps, that at which the principal guests were seated. There was also a sort of temporary stage erected on their feast days for the use of the minstrels and comedians, who were engaged to amuse the company during the time of the dinner. Most of these halls were originally erected by the members of the different guilds out of subscriptions from the private purses of the members, and not from the trade guild funds. As an example, we may quote one mentioned by Herbert:—

"One of the first of these buildings," he says, "which apparently corresponded with the increased consequence of the newly-chartered company, was the Goldsmiths' Hall, which must also have ranked with the earliest in point of age, as their fraternity had an assay office in the reign of Henry I. This hall was built by Bartholomew Read, goldsmith, and Lord Mayor in 1502, and was of such magnitude that Stow treats Grafton's account of it as fabulous, observing that Westminster Hall itself would scarcely have equalled it."

Most of the halls which existed before or near the Reformation seem to have been formed from the deserted mansions of the great, and consequently possessed, in many instances, gardens. Drapers' Hall was the mansion of Lord Cromwell, and still retains its fine gardens. Salters' Hall was the town seat of the Earls of Oxford, and is said to have been the place where Empson and Dudley used to meet in Henry VII.'s reign, and part of which (till very lately) formed the fine court of their present hall. The Grocers built on the site of the Lord FitzWalter's town mansion, and had (1838) a fine garden, part of which is still also preserved. The minor companies, in several instances, bought and converted the halls of the dissolved religious houses into trade halls: as the Leathersellers, who fitted up the fine hall of the nuns of St. Helen's; the Pinners, who occupied the Austin Friars' hall, afterwards called Pinners' Hall Meeting-house; the Barber Surgeons, who built on part of the site of the Hermitage of St. James in the Wall, and others.

Another point should also be brought under the notice of the reader, and it is also quoted by Herbert—that the only costly articles of furniture of these halls was the large quantity of silver plate they possessed. But, unlike their successors in the present day, the whole of these expensive articles appear to have been presented by members of the guild; whereas among our modern livery companies, whatever requires renewing is paid for out of the funds of the guild itself, whether plate or other expensive articles. Among the predecessors of the Goldsmiths' Company, for example, are, in common with other halls, many entries in their inventories similar to the following:—

"1466.—A standing cuppe of sylver with a cover, weying xxiv. ounces troy, given by Thomas Swetenham, grocer, Jh'u be mercifull unto his soul!"

"1467.—Of the gyfts of John Godyn, grocer. (Jh'u have mercy on his soul!) A standinge cuppe, the cover of sylver, and alle gylte with roses and sonnes [suns] weighing xxxj. ounces."

"1467.—Of the gyfte of Sir John Howard, Knyghte, a standing cuppe, and cover of sylver, and alle gylte, weying xvj. ounces and half troy weighte. God send him long life and welfare."

Drinking-cups, gallon-pots, basons and ewers, large silver salvers, goblets, and salts constituted the articles usually given, and which are said to be of "sylver, sylver guylte, parcel guylte, or silver white."

It would be curious to inquire how much of the expenses of the furniture of the company halls in the

present day is paid for out of the pockets of or presented by the members of the guilds; but the halls of our civic ancestors, as they increased in size, had many duties to perform which are evaded in the present day. For example, during the reigns of Elizabeth and the Stuarts, every hall was obliged to have a granary and an armoury within its walls; nay, more, there were rooms set apart when it was possible as dwellings for decayed members, and there was always a room adjoining the hall for the almsmen to assemble in when they were called upon to join in processions and pageants. Then, again, there were rooms required for offices where the almsmen, pensioners, and poor of the commonalty were relieved, and the duties connected with them performed. But, more than all, there were rooms in which the "properties," to use a theatrical expression, connected with the City pageants, which were generally exceedingly cumbrous, and occupied a vast amount of space, as well as rooms for entertaining and hearing complaints, for administering justice, the hearing and deciding disputes between masters, apprentices, and journeymen, and other duties connected with the craft, all of which are now obsolete, and of course the space they formerly occupied is no longer required. Perhaps the present Guildhall would, upon a large scale, give the reader a tolerably correct idea of the general run of the companies' halls some two or three centuries back.

If we now turn to our modern City halls and reflect for a moment upon the duties performed in those of our ancestors, we shall easily perceive how vast a change

for the worse has taken place in them. The halls themselves are far more sumptuous as well as larger than those of our ancestors, while the whole of the duties belonging to the trades, as well as the custody of the "properties" of the City pageants, the warehousing of corn, and the armoury, are not only obsolete, but very probably utterly forgotten, leaving in fact the sole use of the hall, with the most rare exceptions, merely for feasting. That being the case, the following list of the official valuation in 1873 of these halls, for the purpose of municipal taxation, will give some idea of the cost of these feasts, when added to the amount expended in wine, provisions, and extra attendance, &c.

Name of Hall.	Gross Value.
Apothecaries	£6,500
Armourers and Braziers	1,000
Bakers	460
Barbers	350
Brewers	1,000
Butchers	700
Carpenters	180
Clothworkers	5,000
Coachbuilders	280
Coopers	600
Cordwainers	800
Curriers	100
Cutlers	700
Drapers	8,000
Dyers	1,000
Fellowship Porters	125
Fishmongers	3,500
Founders	350
Carried forward	£30,645

Name of Hall.	Gross Value.
Brought forward	£30,645
Girdlers	800
Goldsmiths	5,500
Grocers	4,000
Haberdashers	860
Innholders	400
Ironmongers	1,500
Leathersellers	950
Merchant Taylors	3,030
Painters	300
Saddlers	1,050
Salters	3,000
Skinners	1,750
Stationers	1,600
Tallow Chandlers	800
Vintners	625
Watermen	250
Wax Chandlers	500
	£57,560

It should be understood, however, that although we

have given the estimated annual value of these halls as they were recorded in the City Union books in 1873, not only were many of them greatly undervalued, but during the last three years considerable increase in the value of all City property has taken place, and the halls, without exception, are of greater value than they were at the time mentioned. But even then the valuations were often so much beneath the real worth of many of these buildings as to make us wonder that the other ratepayers did not express some angry feelings on the subject, as of course their own municipal taxation must have increased in proportion as these magnificent halls were underrated. Let us take, for example, the Goldsmiths' Hall, with a nominal annual value of £5,500 a year. If the sums which have lately been paid in the neighbourhood for property may be taken as a test, the value of this hall would be found to be considerably higher. Again, we may mention the Leathersellers' Hall, in Great St. Helen's, whose gross value has been put down at £950 per annum. If the reader, in passing through Bishopsgate Street, would cast his eye at the building and estimate its relative size and magnificence with that of the other houses near, all of which, by the way, are the property of the Leathersellers' Company, and then remember that the annual gross rental of each of these houses is somewhere about £1,000 a year, he may then form some conclusion how much more than £950 per annum is the value of the hall. The Drapers' Company will form a still more striking example. This building figures in

the City accounts as being of the gross value of £8,000 a year; and this in Throgmorton Street, which is, perhaps, the most valuable part of the City of London. On the building of this hall alone the company has lately expended no less than £74,000. At the back of the hall is a very large garden, the property of the company. This alone has lately been let off in building leases for £15,000 a year; yet, with the increased value of the newly-built hall, the whole is estimated by the City Assessment Committee at only £8,000 per annum.

However, that we may not appear captious, let us take the value of these City halls at £60,000 a year; but to this, it should be remembered, must be added the amount of municipal and other taxation levied upon them, which, considering the heavy taxation which falls on the City of London, cannot be less than £20,000 a year. This is no exaggerated statement. If the reader will only refer to his own domestic expenditure, he will find that with all classes of taxes levied upon house property, including property tax, inhabited house duty, &c., it will amount to very little less than a third of his rental. But there are other expenses to be estimated—the cost of repairs, wear and tear of furniture, servants, and the mere establishment expenses, including fees to the different members of the liveries themselves, and divers expenses incidental to the buildings which will not amount to much less than £20,000 a year more, making, in point of fact, a gross expenditure for the one item of house-rent alone at somewhere about £100,000 a year; and this sum, be it understood,

incurred by a body of men who are trustees of money placed in their hands for trade and charitable purposes, and all of whom, with the most trifling exception, strangers to the craft or trade of which they profess themselves to be members.

But it may be said that, assuming the guilds to be thoroughly reformed, they would still require house room for the performance not only of their trade duties, but of the banquets which they might, with their own funds, honestly give to the members of their own guilds and others they might think fit to invite; and this of course could not be done without having halls in which they might be carried out. How far this objection is a valid one may be judged from the fact that there are a great number of guilds without halls, whose duties of hospitality are performed as honourably as those of the guilds the rent of whose halls we have just quoted. For example, the Blacksmiths, the Bowyers, the Clockmakers, Distillers, Feltmakers, Joiners, Gunmakers, Lorimers, Masons, Musicians, Pewterers, Scriveners, Shipwrights, Tinplate-workers, Tilers and Bricklayers, and some twenty others.*

* Mr. W. H. James, M.P., in a paper he lately read at the Social Science Congress at Liverpool, noticed the waste of the City livery companies, and the uses to which the money so squandered might be made available for technical and other education of artizans and the industrial classes in general. "These guilds," he showed, "at the present time possessed real property in London alone to the amount of £450,000 annual value, but they were not distinguished for the amount they spent on education. The Turners, however, amongst the least wealthy of the companies, had given prizes for turning in wood and pottery, and the cutting of diamonds." He quoted also

But hitherto we have spoken merely of the cost of the halls; let us now turn to that of the dinners themselves. What the gross total of these expenses may be it would be difficult indeed to arrive at. Mr. Danby Seymour, as well as several writers who have mentioned the subject, quotes the expenditure of the Goldsmiths' Company for one year for feasting alone in their hall at £30,000. This sum, it may be said, might be exceptional—such, for example, as the banquet given to the Prince of Wales, or other festivities of the kind. But then, again, we have to take the expenditure of the other guilds into consideration, each in its way vying with the others in the lavish manner in which these festivals are conducted, and boasting amongst themselves the amount of their expenditure; though the moment a reformer attempts to take up the matter, and asks them any question relating to their feasts, not a word of reply or explanation can be got—everything is shrouded in impenetrable secrecy. If we may be accused of somewhat overstating those accessories to the companies' feeding, the annual value of their halls—

the balance-sheet of the Joiners' Company for the year 1875—a company, be it remembered, that possesses no hall, and is managed, according to civic ideas of the charitable management of trade funds, in an economical manner. To the debtors' side were—rents, £1,150; dividend, £100; freedom of the City, £150; new liverymen, £850: total, £2,250. On the creditors' side—dinners and festivities, £700; investment, £560; salaries, £130; court livery fees, £200 (this of course went to the superior grades of the members of the guild); sundries, £200; pensions and charitable donations, £130; balance, £170: total, £2,250. He further showed that there was not one of all the trades incorporated in the Trades Council of London which some of the eighty-nine City companies might not legitimately include.

which, by the way, we emphatically deny,—let us at any rate in compensation understate, and that considerably, the annual cost of these guild feasts, and instead of quoting them at £30,000 for one company alone, place the whole expenditure of the companies having halls at £50,000 a year, which the reader, if he knows anything of the subject, will admit to be a very moderate estimate. But should, however, any objection be made, we will go further, and give the livery companies the benefit of the sums spent in feasting of those of the City companies having no halls. Let us take on an average that of the Joiners' Company, where the dinners for the year 1875 were admitted to have cost £750. Let us admit also, however, that this, too, might have been exceptional, and that the usual expenditure for dinners would not exceed £500. But there are thirty companies having no halls, which at £500 a year each would yield a total of some £15,000, which, added to the expenditure of the great companies possessing halls, would make a total for the feasting alone of the livery companies, with the accessories of the halls, &c., a sum of not less than £150,000, which, in common with other instances we have quoted, is taken from funds the greater part placed in the hands of the managers for municipal and trade purposes and charity to the poor, especially to members of the different crafts and trades, of which any particular guild bears the name.

CHAPTER VII.

LIVERY COMPANIES—THEIR DUTIES, ETC.

BEFORE further continuing our remarks respecting the property placed in the hands of the managers and trustees of the City guilds, as well as the enormous amount of patronage they possess, we will lay before the reader a short statement of the present condition of the livery companies in relation to the metropolitan public at large, the power they possess, as well as the claims they put forward to manage what they are pleased to call "their own property" without interference from outsiders, as well as some of the arguments of the would-be reformers who dispute the rights the guilds so loudly proclaim as their own. For many years past discontent has been exhibited among a vast majority of the metropolitan population at what they considered the waste and extravagance perpetrated by the guilds of moneys placed in their hands for definite purposes, and occasionally persons would start forward and attempt to bring these abuses, by means of the press or otherwise, under the notice of the general public. But all these efforts, as a rule, seem in a short time to have died away, and the guilds appear to have

considered, on each occasion when the subject was dropped, that their rights to spend undisturbed the sums in their hands were more fully than ever confirmed, and things again went on in their original course. But lately an association has been formed, composed of men of ability, energy, and position, determined to attack in every possible manner the grievances they complained of, and to use all possible means to bring them under the notice of the public, in the hope that at last some reformation may be effected, and the funds belonging to the guilds, as well as the Corporation of the City of London, be applied in better accordance with the uses for which these bodies were instituted. So formidable did this association appear to the members of the different City guilds, that at last they came to the conclusion that the body opposing them was sufficiently strong to need their combined action to meet it if they wished to maintain their present position, and that the threats and exposures brought forward by their adversaries were of such a nature as to require their utmost vigilance as well as energy in repulsing them; and at last they began to organize themselves in such a manner as to oppose the best possible front to the attacking party.

The claims of the two opposing parties, and the basis on which they wished to establish their rights, were simply as follow. To quote the words of Mr. Firth,* the City Guilds Reform Association maintain:—

* "Municipal London."

"1. The London livery companies are an integral part of the Corporation.

"2. The property of the companies is public trust property, and much of it is available for municipal purposes.

"3. The companies are trustees of vast estates, of which London tradesmen, artizans, and others ought to be the beneficiaries, but that such trusts are disregarded.

"4. The companies are also trustees of estates applicable to charitable uses: they fail to apply to such uses the whole of the funds fairly applicable to them.

"5. The companies were incorporated to benefit trade, to train artizans, and to repress bad workmanship: they perform none of these functions.

"6. The companies are, by charter, to be composed of members of a given trade in many cases, and are legally compellable to admit members of it: yet they admit members irrespective of the trade, and impose restrictions on those who are admissible.

"7. The companies are subject to the control of the Corporation, but as the members of that body are members of the companies also, and are promoted in the latter concurrently with their advancement in the former, such control is never enforced.

"8. The companies are subject to the control of the Crown, and their lands and monopolous privileges were only granted under the condition that they performed certain duties: they have ceased to perform the duties, but they continue to hold the lands.

"9. The continuance of a large amount of land in the heart of the City and in the north of Ireland in the hands of corporate and unproductive bodies is a hindrance to commerce and a loss to the revenue."

As the reader must perceive, it would have been difficult for the City guilds to have had such accusations as these brought against them without taking some energetic action and combining to defend themselves. For some time, however, they contented themselves with merely threats of defiance; but at length, finding that the members of this society were not only men of talent and determination, but that through their means the artizan and industrial classes were beginning to understand the matter, they took the alarm, and began to make preparations for their mutual defence against the serious attack which was likely to be made on them. The first direct attempt at concentric organization on the part of the livery companies appears to have taken place at a dinner given by the Lord Mayor at the Mansion House to the trustees of the City guilds, October 16th, 1876, and it is almost needless to say that the majority if not the whole of these gentlemen readily accepted the invitation. But with the invitation itself there was a peculiarity which deserves notice, as being possibly the first attempt of the City guilds to imitate, though to a very moderate extent, a custom of their ancestors. We have already brought under the notice of the reader that it was the custom at the ancient City feasts for the members of the City guilds to be accompanied by their wives and other ladies, and to omit the

practice was punishable by a fine. At the Lord Mayor's dinner alluded to the wives of the masters of the City guilds were all invited to be present. Whether a fine would have been imposed upon their husbands (*more majorem*) whose better halves did not accompany them it is impossible to say, but from the report given of the number of ladies present, there would be no opportunity, even if legal, to have put that clause of the law into force.

As usual, after the customary toasts were disposed of, the real business of the evening, and for which of course the guests present had been expressly invited, was commenced by the Lord Mayor, on giving what is usually termed "the toast of the evening," adding that it was the one which immediately concerned themselves —The Guilds of the City of London. "He was," in the words of the *Times* report, "much pleased to see so large an assembly of masters of the City guilds present that night. It was a great honour paid to himself that they should have responded to his invitation in such numbers, and a still greater compliment *that they should have brought their wives with them.* The guilds of the City of London," he continued, "putting aside the religious bodies, were the oldest associations in the world, at the same time they had been in their day some of the most powerful associations in defending the Court, the Church, and other institutions of less moment. He believed that to these guilds the citizens of London owe a very large amount of the liberty they now possess, and similar guilds, he rejoiced to know,

were springing up all over England and on the Continent as well. It was simply impossible that institutions founded many centuries ago, and carried on by successions of men of common sense and ability, had been useless and unproductive of good, and that this was the state with the City companies was shown by the fact *that they all lived in the respect and esteem of the people of this country.* There were some who found fault with the guilds, but such persons could hardly know how much we owe to them, or what *noble schools they had established from time to time,* and how many more they would establish. He might mention, by the way, that no man who had been bankrupt in *fortune* or *morals* could take a seat in their courts. Within the last few years large funds had fallen into their hands by the *increase of their property,* and that it led to the attack which had lately been made on them, and which he said would be sure to fail in the end. He dwelt on the intelligence with which the guilds were managed, on the good they did in the responsibilities which surrounded them in the dispensation of their wealth, and he *deprecated any interference with them.* He alluded to their munificent charities in the shape of churches, schools, and almshouses, and urged in conclusion, amid responsive cheers, that the citizens were all more or less interested in their long continuance."

The remarks of the Lord Mayor on the admirable and honourable manner the City guilds were managed were both endorsed and supplemented by the Master of the Mercers' Company, one of the richest of the City

guilds, when returning thanks to the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress for their kind hospitality on the occasion. The guilds, he said, had striven faithfully and earnestly for the last six centuries to do their duty in their various and varied spheres, and they now *stood well before their fellow-citizens,* and, he believed, the country at large. He felt he was right in saying *that no other trusts had existed so long, and remained so unaltered and unimpaired, as those appertaining to the City guilds.* Latterly a question had arisen whether they were entitled to spend their *own property;* that was no doubt a most vital question to them as guilds, as it would naturally be to individuals. He very much doubted whether Parliament would ever consent to such an inquiry as that suggested in the last session. The chief magistrate for the time being was naturally true to the City guilds; but in the present Lord Mayor they possessed one who had done more for them than they could have ventured to expect. Though saying that much, he asserted most distinctly *that the City companies had no reason to fear any inquiry; that their funds were well, honestly, charitably, and conscientiously administered,* as many a hospital, refuge, and charity could testify.

Let us now pause for a few moments to consider how far the self-laudations of the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, the Master of the Mercers' Company, and the guests present, all of whom were masters of the City guilds, accompanied by their wives, were merited, and how far some of the guilds performed the duties for

which they were originally instituted in the conscientious manner described. The Clothworkers' Company, for example, has not a single citizen of London engaged in the trade; moreover, it is now extinct in the metropolis; yet this company is one of the richest of the whole. It is enormously wealthy, and its hospitality is unbounded. Among other valuable property in its possession is the sum of £20,000, stated to have been given them for the purpose of making themselves comfortable,* and which, it is said, is still rigidly adhered to. Nevertheless, the Clothworkers' Company was, to all intents and purposes, a working fraternity, as is shown by their charter, 3 and 4 Edward VI., chap. xi. It had also the right of search for the purpose of the preventing of frauds in the woollen manufactures of England—such as the clothier's seal on his cloth; against the overstretching of cloth; for the well drying of cloths; also for the well drying of all wools to be converted into clothes, or into hats or capes; for the preventing the putting of any deceitful thing upon cloth, such as flocks, chalks, flour, starch, &c., or using iron cards for the rowing of cloths; also for the measuring of cloths. All these duties are to the members of the guild but a dead letter save the one first mentioned. In like manner, with very trifling exceptions, the other City guilds seem utterly to neglect the duties for which they were originally instituted, and for which such enormous funds have been

* *Vide* note of this well-known bequest, "Pearson on Corporation Reform," page 88.

placed in their hands, whether for municipal, trade, or charitable purposes.

The duties of the Grocers' Company were in like manner exceedingly onerous and important, and are in like manner utterly neglected, and with still less excuse than the Clothworkers, for their craft is now extinct in the metropolis, while the trade of the grocer is more flourishing than ever, and has naturally more need of supervision. And yet by their charter, as was before stated, one of their principal duties was to detect frauds practised on the public. They not only were made responsible, as already shown, for the proper "garbelling of drugs," but also the inspection of the many different commodities sold in their trade; in fact, performing, and having the right to perform, the duties of the officials at present employed by the different vestries in London for the purpose of detecting and prosecuting all persons guilty of adulterating their goods. And this duty the guild seems formerly to have performed in a just and conscientious manner. In the list of goods directly under their control and inspection, there was hardly one that was then known in England that was not included. The City records contain abundant instances of the energetic manner the wardens and others performed the duties assigned to them. One or two cases in point must suffice. For example, in 1571 we find that Rauf King, a brother of the company, "and certain others makers of comfytes, were charged before the wardeyns for their misdemeanours in minglinge starche with sugur, and such

other things as not to be tolerated nor suffered. And the said Rauf King having now in his place a goode quantitie of comfytes made with coarse stuffe, and mingled, as aforesaid, with starch and such like," it was ordered that the comfits should be put into a tub of water, and so consumed and poured out, and that "everie of the said comfytte makers shall be made to enter into bonds in £20, that they shall not hereafter make any biscuits but with clere sugur onlie, nor make any comfits that shall be wroughte upon seeds or any other thing but with clere sugur onlie."

That the Grocers' Company had not only the power to prosecute tradesmen detected in selling adulterated commodities known at present under the generic term of groceries, but also of drugs and chemicals, is clearly shown in the following case. On the 7th of February, 1616, Michael Euson having been impeached before the court, he being an apothecary and a brother of the company, of selling "divers sortes of defective apothecaries wares, which, on triall, were found to be defective, corrupt, and unwholesome for man's body;" and it being further found that he had "sold and uttered the like wares to Mr. Lownes, the Prince, his Highnesse's apothecary, and others;" and he also being found very unfit in making of compositions and confections, and insufficient and unskilful to deal therein, he was by the court, in consideration of the great damage and danger which might happen to the company by committing such enormities, committed to the Poultry compter.

The Grocers, in common with other City guilds, had often duties to perform which would in the present day appear absurd. For example, Mr. Firth, in his work on "Municipal London," quotes an order given "that two Ironmongers and two Grocers should be deputed to stand at Bishopsgate all day to see that no citizen passed through wearing any dress that his position did not entitle him to wear." This sort of duty, and many others relating to citizenship, have now died a natural death, but the inspection by Grocers of their trade and their right to prosecute offenders still exists, although from some unaccountable apathy on the part of the public they are allowed entirely to neglect those duties for the performance of which, together with the administration of charitable funds in their hands, their charter of incorporation was originally obtained.

The municipal duties of the Merchant Taylors at last became so onerous, that to carry them out fully it was found necessary to admit substitutes among the wardens, and on March 14th, 1596, the following enactment was made: "That the members becoming numerous, and their affairs becoming very great, by reason of the many charities they had to manage, the court of assistants of the company, with a view of making the business more easy, did substitute some of the inferior members, *who were tailors by trade*, and for method's sake constituted them 'wardens' substitutes;' also sixteen persons to *aid and assist* in such matters as the court of assistants of the company should direct; and

that they should meet at the hall and at such times as the master and wardens should please."

This new arrangement, however, which promised at first to be a most efficient one, soon proved a complete failure, and that from a dominant weakness in most of the City guilds from the earliest times to the present, and which is said to be peculiarly dominant in the Merchant Taylors' Company of our own day. The weakness alluded to is to be found in the following quotation from the company's records: "These 'wardens' substitutes' began to think that they were capable of governing the society, *and given to such extravagance in eating*, &c., that they run the company considerably into debt. The company thought it was high time to stop their extravagance, and in 1661 found on examining their proceedings" that they were a great grievance, and dismissed them, at the same time adopting regulations which put the company's affairs into a much better state.

That there is no danger of the present Merchant Taylors' guild causing the ruin of the company by excessive expenditure in dinners may be readily admitted; but whether this fortunate state of things is caused by the members' abstinence or the immense wealth they hold in their hands, is a question left for the reader to determine.

Of the Skinners' Company Herbert tells us, "The charter of James—which is the company's acting charter—after stating that heretofore on 'the humble petition of divers men sometymes of the Cittee of Lon-

don called Skynners, as well the late King Edward III., as divers other kings and queens of England, his progenitors, had granted sundry charters to the men of the mysterye of Skinners in London,' by which charters they had power, amongst other things, to choose and elect, yearly, one master and four wardens, *skilful men in the said mystery*, to make general search and view, as well within London and the suburbs thereof, as also within any fair or market in England, for false and deceitful wares and workmanship of Skinners, and to punish the offenders and delinquents using any deceit in the said mystery, either in bad workmanship or false packing of skins; and after reciting that the late Queen Elizabeth by her charter or letters patent, dated at Westminster, 8th July, in the second year of her reign, ordered that the master and wardens, or two of them (at the least) to make due search for such abuses and defects in workmanship of 'Skynners and of Skynneresses;' the duties of the master and wardens were most strictly defined, all tending to prove that the company was, strictly speaking, not simply dealers in furs, but a working craft, and the extent of their right of search and punishment of offenders clearly defined. They were, in the words of the charter of Elizabeth, to see: 'That every fur should be of one kind, and manufactured good and pure without admixture of other fur. That no skinner or furrier should sell old furs otherwise than as coming from vestments, that is to say, collars or linings, and old hoods with their tippets on, on account that the great, as well as the commonalty of

the City aforesaid, by old furs and hoods, which they believe to be new ones, are by many furriers often deceived. And that no skinner nor furrier should by any means offer to sell furs on the street and highways, or markets of the aforesaid City, otherwise than as old, for the reasons aforesaid.'"

It may be argued that at the time the charter alluded to was obtained furs, including rabbit and hare skins, were among the most common articles of dress both of rich and poor, and that fashions having so much changed, this rigid surveillance of the trade is no longer needed, and the duties of the master wardens and liverymen are no longer required as far as the control of the trade is concerned. But it should be remembered that members of the guild are in possession of enormous funds both for charitable and trade purposes, that their charter is still unrepealed, and although the skinners and furriers' trade is much diminished in the present day, proportionate numbers of the population being taken into consideration, it still exists, and is of great importance, not merely to the tradesman, but to the public at large, and that as honest men the livery should exercise a control over it, for which purpose they have abundant means and funds in their hands. There must, moreover, be many members or commonalty of the craft in reduced circumstances, if not actual poverty. It would be interesting to inquire how many of these are among the recipients of the charitable funds of the company, and, if any, what proportion they bear to those who are in the receipt of the

guild charitable funds, and are not in the most remote manner, either directly or indirectly, connected with the trade.

The Goldsmiths' Company, whose duties we have already slightly touched upon, is also worthy of remark and consideration, the more so as the original purposes for which it was instituted are still to a comparatively small extent performed—small, let it be understood, when contrasted with their enormous wealth and the amount of purely trade duties performed by their company. Let us hear what Mr. Beal, a gentleman well versed in all matters connected with municipal reform, says of them. Speaking of the injustice the artizans of this craft have received from the liverymen of this company and the Corporation of the City of London, he says, "The treatment of the artificers of this company by the Corporation, without any remonstrance or opposition by the master, wardens, or liverymen of the guild, seems to have been most iniquitous. They have as a body been driven from the City, while the charities and funds so lavishly bestowed or bequeathed for their use in bygone times are now lost to them. It is said, and apparently with reason, that the amount spent by this company in dinners and festivities alone would furnish annuities of £20 a year each to a thousand poor artizans of the craft, and leave a considerable balance over. And yet the Goldsmiths' Company is their benefit society, or at least ought to be. This company had a license from Edward III. to purchase lands in mortmain for

the maintenance of weak, blind, and infirm goldsmiths. The lands in mortmain may remain, but where are the Goldsmith pensioners? Those who are fortunate enough to derive benefit from this close corporation receive, it is said, sometimes as much as £300 a year, and it has almshouses erected on a costly scale at Hackney, Acton, and Woolwich." We may further add, in exemplification of the extravagant and ostentatious manner the City guilds perform the few acts of charity they can justly be credited with, that in 1812 the Goldsmiths' Company built some almshouses for twenty people at a cost of £12,000, or £600 per inmate. But the price of material and labour in the present day, without calculating the increased value of the ground, is more than double that in 1812, consequently, without exaggeration, and assuming that at present they contain the same number of almsmen, they each stand at £60 or £70 per annum for house rent alone. On mentioning this circumstance to a gentleman well acquainted with the management of the City trade guilds, he replied, "It is certainly a heavy rental for an almsman to stand at, but you will find, I think, that the Drapers' Company erected some years since, in Norfolk or Suffolk, a number of almshouses at a far heavier proportionate cost."

Of the waste of charitable funds in the hands of the livery companies we will not at present speak, nor of the sums employed by them in furthering education, both general and technical, which latter term might properly include "apprenticeship," reserving them for a future chapter, but content ourselves with simply men-

tioning one or two facts connected with the Goldsmiths' Company which their admirers may place to their credit. At the same time we will admit we, in part, do so for the purpose of pointing out to the municipal reformer the beneficent effect which may be produced by outspoken disapprobation of the management of the City guilds, as the following notice was not issued by the Goldsmiths' Company till the maladministration of the livery companies in general was brought somewhat prominently under the notice of the public :—

"With a view to the encouragement of technical education in the design and execution of works of art in the precious metals, the Goldsmiths' Company of London have resolved to give the following prizes, viz. : An annual prize of £50 for the best design for some article in gold or silver which, when manufactured, shall exceed thirty ounces in weight. An annual prize of £50 for the best model of some such article as aforesaid. An annual prize of £25 for the best execution and workmanship of some such article as aforesaid. Three annual prizes of £25 each for (1st) the best design, (2nd) the best model, and (3rd) the best execution and workmanship, of some article in gold or silver which, when manufactured, shall be less than thirty ounces in weight. An annual prize of £25 each for the best specimens of (1st) chasing or *repoussé* work, and (2nd) engraving. Originality shall be necessary to obtain either of the prizes for design, and no copy shall be the subject of a prize. The company have also resolved that a travelling scholarship of £100 per

annum may be awarded by the wardens to a student who has shown exceptional talent, and who shall have obtained a prize for design for three successive years, in order to enable him to study art in the precious metals on the Continent of Europe.—(Signed) WALTER PRIDEAUX, Clerk of the Goldsmiths' Company. 'Goldsmiths' Hall, 1876."

While admitting that the Goldsmiths have here made a grand move in the right direction, at the same time the date of the above resolution, 1876, opens the question, that if the master and wardens have the right to award prizes of the kind, why has it not been done before? Want of funds could not be pleaded in excuse; and if their present action in the matter be praiseworthy, as it indisputably is, what term ought to be applied to the inaction in furthering the technical and artistic education they have hitherto maintained? Nor is this all that has lately been performed in the right way by the Goldsmiths' Company, although it would be difficult to determine how their craft is in any way benefited by the following gift. Since the publication of the above praiseworthy resolution on the part of the company, they have awarded the sum of £1,000 for the promotion of chemical research. It is difficult to perceive in what way a donation of the kind is likely to benefit their craft, as, perhaps, no branch of chemistry is better understood than that relating to the precious metals, nor can we understand from what clause in their charter they derived their right to make the gift. But, after all, their present

much-vaunted liberality is trifling indeed when compared with their expenditure. We have already shown what is the annual value and average expenditure in maintaining their hall, and we have heard on good authority, too, that the salary of their clerk is not less than £4,000 a year, more, in fact, than the salaries of the vestry clerks of St. George's, Hanover Square, Paddington, and Kensington put together. But we may be told that the clerk of the Goldsmiths' Company is a solicitor, and that a very large amount of law costs may be considered as included in his salary. Be it so; but it would be found on investigation that the salary he receives is not only fully equal to the combined salaries of the three vestry clerks and the vestries' solicitors' bills put together, but that there will be a considerable balance remaining.

Two other livery companies also deserve especial notice, as incorporated in great part for performance of duties which at present are thrown upon the vestries and ratepayers under the Adulteration of Food Act—the Brewers and the Vintners. As we have already slightly alluded to the former of these guilds, we will confine our few remarks to the Vintners. Speaking of this company, Stow tells us, "The Vintnors of London were of old times called Marchant Vintnors of Gascony, and so I read them in the records of Edward 2 the 11 yeare, and Edward 3 the 9 yeare. They were as well Englishmen as straungers born beyond the seas, but then subjects to the King of England, great Bourdeaux marchaunts of Gascoyne and French wines;

divers of whom were maires of this citie, namely John Adrian vintner, Reignwold at Conduit, John Oxenford, Henry Picard, that feasted the kings of England France and Scotland, and Cypris; John Stoder that gave Stoder's lane to the Vintners, which four last named were Maiors in the time of Edward 4th, and yet Gascoigne wine then sold at London at not more than 4*d.* per quart and Rhenish not above 6*d.* the gallon. I reade of sweet wines, that in the reign of Edward 4 John Peeche, fishmonger, was accused for that he procured license for the only sale of them in London, which notwithstanding he justified by law, he was *imprisoned and fined.* More I read that in the 6th of Henry 6 the Lombardes corrupting their sweet wines, when knowledge thereof came to John Ranwell Maior of London he in divers places in the Citie, commanded the heades of the buts and other vessels in the open streets, to be broken to the number of fifty, so that the liquor running forth passed through the citie like a stream of raine water, in the sight of all people from which arose a most loathsome savour."

From the above it would appear that the Vintners' Company, though rarely quoted in the present day, were formerly of great importance and standing in the City, and they were, moreover, entrusted with little less than arbitrary power to carry out the duties assigned them. Further, their original charter was confirmed by the inspeximus 6 Henry VI., in which the duties of the guild were more strictly defined. It invests the company "with the right of *trade search*

over inferior buyers and sellers," ordaining for this purpose that the company, or "merchants of the craft or merchandize of wines," as it terms them, "shall choose *each year four persons* of the most sufficient, true, and most cunning of the said craft (that hold no tavern), and them present to the Mayor of London, or other presiding officer, and swear them in such presence, to oversee that all manner of wines whatsoever they be, are sold at retail in taverns at reasonable prices, &c. That the Taverners be ruled by the said four persons, who are empowered to correct and amend defaults, which may be found in the exercise of the said craft, and punish therefore according to their good advice and consideration, with the help of such Mayor or president." As a further proof of the power placed in the hands of the Vintners' Company, it was ordained that "all wines coming to London shall be discharged and put to land above London Bridge against the *Vintry*, so that the King's bottlers and gaugers may there take custom." The Vintners were also empowered to punish with great severity all persons *adulterating wines*. Those which particularly came under their notice appear to have been the following, as enumerated by Herbert in his history of the City companies: Muscadell, a rich wine; Malmsey; Rhenish; Dale wine, a sort of Rhenish; Stum, strong new wine; Gascony wine; Alicant, a Spanish wine, and made of mulberries (!); Canary wine, or sweet sack (the grape of which was brought from the Canaries); Sherry, the original sack, not sweet; Rumney, a sort of Spanish

wine. *Sack* was a term loosely applied at first to all white wines.

The reader may possibly agree with us that at the present time there exists for the Vintners abundant opportunities for performing with advantage the duties for which they were incorporated, and for which, let it be understood, they have abundant funds in their possession, not only for the City of London, but for the whole metropolis. They have, moreover, large funds in their hands for charitable purposes, especially for the poor of their trades. Herbert tells us that "before the fire the site of the Vintners' Hall was occupied by thirteen almshouses, devised to the master, wardens, and commonalty of the craft of Vintners by the will of Guy Shuldham, Nov. 7th, 1446. . . . And he directed that the said company should grant these thirteen little mansions lying together, parcel of his lands and tenements intended for such almshouses, to thirteen poor and needy men or women of the *said craft* to be appointed by the master, wardens, &c., of the said craft, for which no rent was to be taken from them. When it was determined to widen Thames Street, these almshouses were pulled down, and twelve others, under the name of the Vintners' Almshouses, with a central chapel, were built instead in the Mile End Road, and are now confined to women. Other endowments have been added to them, which enabled the almshouses to be rebuilt on a larger scale. The other gifts, including £10 for an annual dinner, coals to the inmates, and various other allowances, amount to £435 2*s.* in the

whole. The almswomen consist of the widows of freemen of the company, *liverymen's widows* being preferred." It would be satisfactory to know how many of the widows domiciled in these comfortable "little mansions" are widows of members of the trade, as well as how many persons participating in its various charities were connected either directly or indirectly with it.

It would tire the patience of the reader to go at any greater length into the question of the duties imposed upon the different livery guilds, not only with respect to the control and inspection of their trade, but their municipal duties as well, and from the performance of which no guild, however important or influential, was exempt. And these duties were frequently not only onerous, but disagreeable as well. For example, in the year 1515, when the City guilds were in the height of their prosperity, an entry made in the City records states that it was ordered and decreed by the Court of Aldermen—"That the clerks and beadles of the following eight mysteries, that is to say, the Mercers, Grocers, Drapers, Fishmongers, Goldsmiths, Skinners, Merchant Taylors, and Haberdashers, should from thenceforth be discharged of the office of *constable, raker, or scavenger* for ever, as long as they should stand and continue in their said rooms of clerks and beadles." But this order, in common with all other ordinances theretofore made concerning like discharges, was on the Monday after Epiphany, in the eighth of Henry VIII., "utterly repealed, revoked,

and annulled."* Nor has this decision on the part of his Majesty Henry VIII., as far as we have been able to learn, been repealed up to the present day, proving how imperative were the obligations placed on the City guilds for the performance of municipal duties, and at the livery's expense, similar to those carried out by the metropolitan vestries in the present day.

The question may now naturally arise in the mind of the reader—If the duties of the City guilds are so useful and various, why should they not be extended over the metropolis at large, and thus relieve the overburdened ratepayer of a large portion of the heavy taxation at present imposed upon him? The reply would most probably be, that by their charters their trade, as well as charitable and municipal duties, were confined to the City of London and its precincts, and by the emigration (as they are pleased to call the wholesale destruction of the dwellings of the working and industrial classes within the City boundaries by the Corporation, Metropolitan Board of Works, and other agencies) their duties have fallen into abeyance, and can no longer be practised, even if their charters still remain unrepealed. As this is a very common excuse in the mouths of the members of the different City trade guilds, the following facts and extracts from their charters still unrepealed may go far to prove to the reader the fallacy of such arguments.† For ex-

* "City Records," Rep. 3, folio 121.

† To Mr. Firth's exhaustive work, "Municipal London," we are indebted for the greater part of the above quotations.

ample, the Goldsmiths' Company have by their charter the right of inspection, search, and regulation of all sorts of gold and silver, wrought or to be wrought, and exposed for sale within the City of London and suburbs thereof, and within three miles of the same, and in all fairs, marts, and markets, cities, towns, or boroughs, and *all other places throughout England.*

The Skinners' Company had, by a charter of Edward III., a similar power to punish the defective manufacture of furs. Their rights of search, &c., were scarcely less extensive than those of the Goldsmiths.

The Dyers' Company have full control over the trade in London, and within ten miles; and by one of the last of their charters every person practising the mystery must be a member of the company. On making inquiry some three years since, we were informed that only *one* member of the guild was really a dyer.

The Bakers' Company have power to prove and weigh all bread sold in the City and a considerable area round it, and if defective to seize it, and give it to the poor. They had also powers to impose fines, and levy the same by distress. In like manner the master and wardens of the Brewers' Company have the power to control all those that exercise that mystery in London and for four miles in extent; while the Butchers' Company had control over the City and two miles round it.

The Cutlers' Company had the control of the trade in the City and the suburbs within three miles of the

City. The Wax Chandlers had the same power over their trade in the City and within ten miles round it.

The Saddlers' Company had the right to make search and destroy defective wares in London and suburbs, the Borough of Southwark, the City of Westminster, and all places within two miles of the City and suburbs. The Carpenters' Company have a limit of two miles from the City; the Cordwainers, three miles; the Curriers, three miles; the Founders, three miles; the Bakers, twelve miles; the Coopers, two miles; the Weavers, ten miles; the Scriveners, three miles; the Fruiterers, three miles; the Farriers, seven miles; the Horners, twenty-four miles; the Apothecaries, seven miles (now regulated by statute); the Combmakers, ten miles; the Feltmakers, four miles; the Needlemakers, ten miles; the Coachmakers, twenty miles; the Gunmakers, four miles; and so on with the other companies.

It may be seen from the above how fallacious is the excuse that the power of trade control and the exercise of municipal duties imposed on them by their charters are confined to the City boundaries. If an average were made of the space around the City that each guild has the right of search, regulation, and control, it would be found to be little, if any, less than that comprised under the Metropolis Local Management Act; and such being the case, whether it ought not to be the policy of our City municipal reformers to agitate for some extension of their fund over the same for, as it is commonly expressed

in the City charters, *the* benefit of the people. Of the power and means of the guilds in relieving, and in perfect keeping with their charters, the heavy present local taxation the metropolitan population are labouring under, we purpose speaking in the following chapter.

CHAPTER VIII.

LIVERY COMPANIES—THEIR REVENUE.

HAVING now given the reader a short sketch of the duties imposed upon the City livery companies, we will leave it to the reader to determine how those duties are performed, so as to merit the praises of the Lord Mayor, the Master of the Mercers' Company, and other speakers, at the dinner given to the masters of the City guilds, alluded to in the last chapter, and proceed to inquire whether the funds in the hands of the companies are not sufficient to enable them to extend their operations for the "benefit of the people at large." To ascertain the amount of wealth in the possession of the City guilds would be a very difficult task, but we will endeavour to give the reader some approximate idea. In the first place it is stated, and on apparently good authority, that nearly one-half of the land in the City is held in trust by them for municipal, charitable, educational, and trade purposes. What is the value of the whole would be a difficult task for any private individual to arrive at, for so great is their

assumed power or license that they possess, at any rate the more influential companies among them, that they have set the Government at defiance. For example, Mr. Firth tells us that "in the year 1833 the Royal Commissioners were *permitted* by some of the companies to inspect some of their charters, but, notwithstanding their power to examine upon oath, their authority was often denied, their circular of queries unanswered, and some of the companies declined to appear or give any account of their stewardship." Surely no Royal Commission was ever treated so scurvily, or bore its snubbing with equal composure. The independence and opposition of the companies was especially noticeable in the case of those that had large funds, and whose control of them was assumed to be irresponsible, while small companies, who had very little to lose, were frequently willing to tell the Commissioners everything they wished to know. The Grocers, for example, declined to give any account of themselves to the Commissioners, and probably they were wise in their generation. It is not, however, without a certain aptitude that one recognises the motto of the company—"God grants Grace." It would be interesting to know how the graceless Grocers *do* dispense their vast property. For example, in 1636 one William Pennefather by his will gave £233 6*s.* 8*d.* to buy land of the yearly value of £11 13*s.* 4*d.*, such sum to be divided among seven poor almspeople. How much does the land bring in, and how much is paid over? So a house is given to the same company to provide £4 a year

for an iron post and a glass lanthorn to be fixed at Billings Gate. If the house now brings in (as it possibly does) £300 a-year, how much is given to the poor?

Many other instances might be quoted of the impertinent independence and want of courtesy to the Government authorities equally striking, but they exercise others, perhaps, still more objectionable, in concealing their affairs from the inferior members—the governors of many of the richer companies maintaining that they owe no account even to their own members, much less to the public. The Corporation itself attempted to take the same high standing, but with hardly the same success. In a somewhat arrogant "statement" of the Court of Aldermen, submitted to both Houses of Parliament after the introduction of the Bill of 1856, the Aldermen say, "that they exposed their title-deeds and the accounts of their revenue to the Royal Commissioners with feelings of honest pride and generous confidence, but that they little expected to see from the pen of British statesmen a report applying laws of *meum* and *tuum* to a Corporation different to those which, at least at present, prevail in regard to private individuals."

As a proof of the difficulty of obtaining any accurate knowledge of the funds and estates of the livery companies, we will quote that of the Drapers as an example. The income of the Drapers' Company was represented to the Commissioners in 1837 as about £24,000 a year, and as a rule it is generally quoted by the members of

the guild at about the same amount now. But was it the real state of the case? Since 1837 the average value of property in the City—and the Drapers' Company are, perhaps, the largest owners of land in it—has more than doubled, without counting the great advance in value of their other properties. They have since rebuilt the hall, which is assessed for the poor at £8,000 a year net, at a cost of £70,000, and they have let off their garden on building leases for £15,000 per annum more—that property being alone worth the amount their whole assets were valued at in 1837. And now arises the interesting question, what is done with the surplus? They spent on entertainments and dinners £5,000 a year, on salaries £4,000 a year, and on pensions and gratuities some £5,000 a year more. Has their expenditure increased in all respects in proportion with the increase of funds? If so, the new and costly hall in Throgmorton Street must be little other than a huge house of gluttony. "It would," says Mr. Firth, "be edifying to have a public audit of their accounts. Five hundred years ago all the members of a company knew what their funds were, and how they were spent. This very company obtained its anomalous privileges in 1365, on the ground that meddlers in drapery, by their ignorance of the trade, greatly enhanced the price, and the quality was deteriorated. To-day a London draper would have small chance of getting much information from the company, if indeed he could get admitted at all."

Of the Merchant Taylors we have already spoken,

but what we have said conveys only a slight idea of the enormous funds in their possession, and which, by the way, are rapidly increasing. Let us give one case in point. Possibly the reader, when passing from the Old Jewry through Coleman Street, may have noticed a house on the left-hand side, from which a large clock protrudes, which is visible from one end of the street to the other. This house is the property of the Merchant Taylors' Company; it reaches from Coleman Street through to Basinghall Street, and in the centre was a hall some thirty-five feet in diameter known as the Wool Exchange. The whole block was let on lease for £750 per annum, but, the lease falling in, it was renewed at a *ground rent* of £3,500 per annum, on the condition that the company who took the lease should pull down the old buildings and erect new. This has been done at an expenditure of nearly a quarter of a million of money. But a curious fact remains to be noticed, and which may be found in all modern buildings erected on land belonging to the livery companies—no person, other than "a care-taker," is allowed to sleep on the premises, for the purpose, as it is stated, of escaping the inhabited house duty, but more probably with the intent of impeding the industrial classes from returning into the City. And yet the buildings alluded to, now let out in offices, might have afforded house accommodation for more than seven hundred persons. The same rule has been carried out in all those magnificent buildings in Cannon Street, as well as most others (we certainly

have been able to find no exception) within the City boundaries.

The same difficulty exists in obtaining anything like a just idea of the revenue of the Goldsmiths' Company. Quoting a letter from the *Weekly Dispatch,* addressed to the editor, and signed "Nemesis," evidently the composition of a gentleman well acquainted with his subject, and to which, if we could take any objection to his statements, it would be that he has rather underrated his conclusions than exaggerated them, he says:—

"In the history of the Goldsmiths' Company allusion will continually be found to the artificers and commonalty, as to apprentices, freemen, and wardens. For example, as before stated, in 1529 a dispute arose between the artificers and poor men of the craft of goldsmiths relative to the election of wardens. How much of the funds of this corporation now reaches the artificers of the guild? They, the craftsmen, have benefit societies, long since formed to replace the one of which they have been dispossessed. What does the Goldsmiths' Company contribute? The hall of the Goldsmiths' Company is worth, say, £10,000 per annum. By the ordinary descent of property this belongs to the artificers of Clerkenwell. To what use would they apply it? At twenty years' purchase it is worth £200,000, which invested at four per cent. would produce £8,000 a year—enough, perhaps, to pension every man among them above sixty years of age entitled to benefit from the guild fund. In addition it has—

	£	s.	d.
Six houses at Alb Hay, producing, per annum	685	0	0
Five at Halle	522	0	0
Six at Malton	825	0	0
Forty-four left by Sir Wm. Bowes	2,288	0	0
From Mr. Fox	8	0	0
Four houses	172	0	0
A farm, 198 acres	845	0	0
Another, 32 acres	83	0	0
Rent charges, amounting to	127	0	0
Other rent charges	52	0	0
In stock (Consols)	927	17	6
In other stocks	18,415	0	0
In other stocks	914	0	0
In various stocks	6,580	0	0
For almshouses, per annum	6,180	0	0
Money gifts	10	0	0
Gifts in articles	23	0	0
Payments to parishes and schools	977	0	0

or a total income for specific purposes, *known*, of over £20,000 per annum, with a total assumed income of over £150,000 per annum, of which we have no account, and of which we demand that an effectual audit and full disclosure shall be made, or that it shall be handed over to a body of Commissioners (with all kindred property) to administer."

The same vigorous writer, when mentioning the Haberdashers' Company, says, "The Company of Haberdashers is a notable one—charity and benevolence of the rarest and most distinguished kind formerly marked it for their own. Its trusts proclaim, in days gone by, how much it was esteemed. It has free schools in Bunhill Row, Monmouth, Newport, Banbury, and Hoxton; almshouses at Hoxton, Mon-

mouth, Newport, and Banbury; four lectureships, eighteen scholarships, numerous pensions and gifts. Assuming the governing body to be nobly ambitious of doing good, here is work for the noblest and worthiest of our race. It pays £3,527 to parishes and schools, £1,373 to almshouses and pensions, and acknowledges a total income for charitable purposes of £5,677 per annum. Its history is a small thing. Suffice it to say it survives to our day, the trustee of property intended for great uses. A list of its pensions would fill columns. Its distinctive power in London is associated with Aske's Hospital at Hoxton, for the maintenance of twenty *liverymen* or *freemen*, and for the maintenance and education of twenty boys, sons of freemen. Robert Aske left £30,000 for building and endowing the hospital. There were great errors in the earlier days of this trust, marring its usefulness. How now? How many boys? What education? Is it better than an ordinary old charity school, or would the boys fare better at a national school? It is a simple inquiry, and merits a reply."

They return the Aldersey bequest as having an income of £7 per annum. The bequest, however, maintains a free school at Banbury, in Cheshire. A *portion* of the property is leased for 500 years at £122 per annum, the lessee to repair the grammar school and house of the master, and a further portion for 2,000 years at £8 per annum. Blundell's Charity is returned at £2, but it represents No. 8, Poultry, which must be worth some hundreds per annum. What is

done with the surplus? Morgan's Charity, returned at £20 per annum, consisted of a house in Budge Row, two in Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, two in Eastcheap, and a house and land at Stratford, in Essex. What is the explanation? They appear to have appropriated to themselves Mrs. Clarke's Charity for some time, now represented by £666 per annum, but do not say how the income is appropriated. Caldwell's Charity needs inquiry, seeing that a house on Ludgate Hill was sold for £92. They hold under Whitmore's Charity houses in Bishopsgate and Helmet Court, producing, we should think, some hundreds per annum, and they return the income at £21. Will the clerk of the company explain? These are queries on things recorded. We do not pretend to touch on property or its administration for which no trust is avowed. There is no balance-sheet of that—no details, no history, no array of salaries, no douceurs, fees to members of court or to wardens, or cost of banquets—all that is a blank till Parliament proclaims an audit and appoints an auditor. Will the Lord Mayor pardon one inquiry? What is become of Somers' Charity, represented in the last return as stock £23 6*s.* 8*d.*, dividends 14*s.*, of which 2*s.* is paid to clerk and beadle, but which formerly possessed a house in St. Dunstan's, Fleet Street? What has become of it? What is its history? Twelve shillings is now put into the poor-box annually, but how about the house? Sir Stephen Peacock gave *lands* in St. Sepulchre's, Newgate Street. The income is returned at £9 5*s.* 4*d.*, and the property consisted of

24, Crutched Friars, which seventy years ago produced £55 per annum, and two coach-houses and a stable in French Horn Yard in the rear, which then produced £25 per annum—now shall we say £700 per annum?* Again, what information can the Lord Mayor give about this, and Gale's Charity, and Harlowe's Charity?

"We are justly curious," Nemesis continues, "to know something of Sir N. Rainton's bequest of two houses and two warehouses in Lombard Street, to pay 40*s.* a year for the use of the poor. Now this property formed part of Plough Court and 77, Lombard Street. They return the total gross income at £87; now it represents thousands per annum, or should do so. What does Alderman Cotton, late prime warden, say to this, and as to the lapsed purposes of Hazlefort's Charity? In Bishopsgate Street and Helmet Court are two houses, of which the rents were £2 13*s.* 4*d.* per annum. Who knows anything of the present rental? Is it £1,500 per annum? To whom is it paid, and how expended? It is connected with the charities of Dr. Bell and Parthinia Lowman. It may be, possibly it is, honestly to be accounted for. We only want to know that it is all as it should be."

After alluding to the mismanagement of Trotman's School in Bunhill Row, the income now returned at £173 per annum; the magnificent charity of Jones, consisting of 521 acres of land in Monmouthshire, to

* The author, as trustee for a piece of land in close vicinity to the above, but not of greater dimensions, sold it, ten years since, for building purposes, for £17,500.

support a grammar school and almshouses in Monmouth; Shingler's Charity and others, all in the hands of the Haberdashers' Company, Nemesis continues:—

"If no other company was made the subject of a parliamentary inquiry, certainly the Haberdashers' ought to go through that ordeal, if only to explain Jeston's Charity, and its twenty-four houses returned at £170 per annum, and £3,000 consols. As these houses are eighteen in Haberdashers' Square and six in St. Giles's, we are curious to know how it is they produce only £170 per annum. Again, Lady Wild's Charity has enabled them to purchase six advowsons, and that alone would be a curious and interesting subject of inquiry for Parliament. Talk of misappropriation! Will the clerk give us the history of the Paradyne Charity and Lady Romney's Charity, and Mr. Freeman's, unique in the history of neglected trusts? Parliament alone can getthe history of Hammond's Charity, with its fifteen houses in Mincing Lane and Tower Street, charged to pay £80 per annum with an income of £98; and that of Hazlefort's, with its farm of 212 acres at Great Bardfield, and its copyhold property at Matching, Essex. If any noble-minded citizen would apply to Chancery on this latter charity he would leave a name endearingly to be remembered. Barnes's Charity is still returned at £54 per annum; but as it is possessed of a house in Lombard Street, we want to know its rental. Seventy years ago it was £150 per annum—what is it to-day? Houses in Lombard Street letting at £80 thirty years

ago now realise £700 and £800 per annum. The rate of growth in value extends, strangely enough, to property held in trust by companies and in that in the hands of private individuals. Sir G. Barnes's Charity represents now £133 stock. What has become of the windmill in Finsbury? It appears to have been sold for £100. Is this stewardship of great trusts? Young tradesmen should apply for loans under Culverwell's and other charities. Harding's, and Barrett's, and Offley's Charities appear to have been lost, and the company make no return as to them. Buckland's substantial charity of the houses in St. Michael-le-Quern is now £200 stock, and that is all to represent three houses in Paternoster Row. They are rich in loan charities. One Taylor left £200 to be loaned, but having lost £50 of it in 1666, the company appears to have appropriated it, and pays £1 4*s*. per annum in lieu to St. Stephen's, Coleman Street. They seem to have dealt in a similar way with Harrison's Charity."

It must not be supposed that the charities quoted by Nemesis comprise the whole number possessed by the Haberdashers' Company, for that is far from being the case. It would appear, from a return printed by order of the House of Commons, July 15th, 1868, that they possess thirty-one more, equally valuable. But correct as Nemesis usually is, he has made an error in his valuation of the company's valuable trusts. He has evidently taken his figures from the above report, and not taken into consideration the increase in the value of City property since 1868, the increased

rental to be levied when the present leases fall in—as, for example, the case we mention as the property in Coleman Street belonging to the Merchant Taylors' Company—as well as the annual value of land at present unbuilt upon, but which will hereafter prove vastly productive, increasing the value named by Nemesis at least twenty-five per cent.

Before making any concluding remark on the funds in possession of the Haberdashers' Company and the management of its valuable charities, we shall briefly allude to two other companies, the Drapers' and the Mercers'. Respecting the former we have given a remote idea of its wealth, and we shall only allude to the amount of charitable funds in its possession, leaving untouched those that remain for trade and municipal purposes. It appears, then, that rich as is the Haberdashers' Company in charitable trusts, it is in arrear of the Drapers'. From the Parliamentary Report of 1868, it would appear that they possessed no fewer than seventy-eight charitable endowments—£6,514 for general education, £1,975 for apprenticeship or technical education, and £6,089 for the support of almshouses and their inmates, besides other charities admitted by the company themselves, the whole reaching to the sum of £15,181 per annum. As in the case of the Haberdashers' Company, the greater part of this enormous income is derived from house property and land, much of it in the most valuable part of the City, and of course yielding, either at present or in reversion, a far higher sum than the

amount returned in the Parliamentary Report published some ten years since. We may here add that, in addition to its City and English property and in different stocks, the Drapers' Company possesses no fewer than 27,025 acres of land in the best part of Ireland, yielding a present rental of £14,859; but when the present leases fall in, the rents will be raised from twenty-five to fifty per cent. on their present valuation.

Including St. Paul's School, the Mercers' is still richer in charitable endowments than the Drapers'. The company has for general educational endowments, not including the value of the land and the school buildings, which are never given in their returns, but which in themselves form an item of great value, no less than £14,130 per annum; and for apprenticing or technical education (terms synonymous) £1,606 more; for almshouses and the inmates, £7,162 more; which, including other charitable trusts and St. Paul's School, altogether amounts to £25,147 per annum. Of the gross income of the company we can form no adequate idea, for its managers appear to have, in common with all other guilds, a violent objection to allowing their income to be known. One item alone we may mention, that they possess in the best part of Ireland an estate of 21,241 acres, the leases of which are now expiring, and on which, according to the newspaper reports, they intend raising their rents to £40,000 a year.

As it is common in the present day to find the trades of haberdasher, draper, and mercer to be carried on in

the same house, the three may be considered as one; and such being the case, we would submit to the members of these trades whether they, with their assistants, both men and women (the latter having by the original charters a right to be admitted as sisters of the guilds), should not assist in the present movement for the reform of the City livery companies, and if not for their own benefit, for that of "the decaid" members of their trade, their wives, and children. The prizes to be gained are worth trying for. Without alluding to the sums held in trust by the three companies for trade and municipal purposes, those for charitable purposes alone will be somewhat as follows —more, rather than less:—

	£	s.	d.
Haberdashers	5,677	0	0
Drapers	15,181	15	0
Mercers (including St. Paul's) .	25,147	0	0
Total .	£46,005	15	0

If to this should be added twenty-five per cent. for increased value, &c., of securities since 1868, the gross total will not be less than £57,220 per annum.

It would be interesting also to investigate how many of those having the administration of the enormous funds are members of the trades they profess to represent, how many of the inmates of their almshouses were directly or indirectly connected with the trade of haberdasher, draper, or mercer, or how many children of members of these trades are receiving from the charitable funds

of the above-named companies any education, either elementary, secondary, or technical.

It would possibly tire the reader's patience if we went at any length into the administration of charitable funds in the hands of the livery companies; suffice it to say they are all amply supplied for purposes of the kind, and all seem to fritter away their funds in the same unsatisfactory manner, one rule seeming to guide them all—how the smallest amount of good can be effected at the heaviest possible amount of cost, and how the smallest amount of benefit can be obtained from them by the poor of the different guilds they profess to represent. According to the Parliamentary Report (1868) above alluded to, the City livery companies possess in charitable trusts for education alone (exclusive of the £12,000 a year, the endowment of St. Paul's School) £19,008 per annum, and £5,646 for apprenticeship or technical education, for the support of almshouses and their inmates and pensioners, £53,972, almost the whole for members of their different trades, as well as other trusts for charitable uses of not less than £99,027 per annum. To this amount, however, should the income of St. Paul's School be added, as well as the increase in the value of the different securities as well as land, it would raise the whole at a fair computation to not less than £125,000 a year. Let this amount be added to that we have mentioned for feasting, the maintenance of the halls, and other accessories to what is called "civic hospitality" (of the cost of which not a shilling comes out of the pockets of either

host or guests), at the moderate sum of £150,000 a year, making with the charity trust a total of £275,000 per annum.

It must not, however, be concluded that this sum by any means represents the wealth of the City guilds, though, as we said before, to what amount it really reaches it would be a difficult matter to say. Among other valuable items in their assets may be named their Irish estates. The origin of the Irish Society dates back as far as the reign of James I. This monarch conceived the idea of colonising the north of Ireland with English and Scottish Protestants. More than 500,000 acres of land had been confiscated to the Crown, and the King thought that the best way to remove the disaffection and weakness of this part of his kingdom was to introduce a new and sturdy Protestant colony. In pursuance of this design he entered into certain negotiations with the Corporation of London, under which the Corporation undertook the colonisation and settlement of a large tract of country. Considerable sums of money were raised by the Corporation, which was assessed upon the livery companies. It was then divided as far as was practicable into twelve equal parts, and apportioned by lot among the twelve great companies. There still remained under control of the Corporation undivided certain lands, farms, and so forth, and these have since formed the area of the Irish Society's jurisdiction. The society's charter was taken away by Charles I., but restored by Charles II. Their property is now held under this grant. "The

rest of the estates granted by King James to the Corporation have been dealt with by the livery companies. Some of them have been sold, others are still in the possession of the companies. Whether we regard the livery companies at the time of the subdivision as flourishing trade organizations or as inseparable parts of the Corporation, in either point of view these lands and the moneys they have produced are impressed in the hands of the present holders with the character of trust property. Formerly it was the custom to divide the surplus income of the society amongst the twelve great companies, and upon the discontinuance of this practice the Skinners' Company brought an action with respect to their share of the undivided estate. But after much litigation the House of Lords decided, confirming the decision of Lord Langdale, that the *Irish Society were simply trustees for public purposes.* The legal position occupied by the companies is in many respects the same, but the question as to what their rights and duties are in respect to their Irish property has never been litigated, and they have used the product of their shares as their own private property." *

Has the reader any idea of the value of the Irish estates in the hands of the livery companies and "used by them as their own private property?" Without counting the amount realised by the companies (the Skinners for example) who have sold their portions of the land, and already received the proceeds of the sale, their rental according to the present leases in the

* Firth, "Municipality of London."

possession of eight of these companies,* is given in the last Parliamentary Return as follows:—

	Acres.	Valuation. £	s.	d.
Drapers . . .	27,025	14,859	3	0
Fishmongers . .	20,509	9,159	8	0
Grocers . . .	11,638	6,457	0	0
Ironmongers . .	12,714	8,032	4	0
Mercers . . .	21,741	11,740	0	0
Salters . . .	19,445	17,263	0	0
Skinners . . .	34,772	9,511	0	0
Irish Society . .	6,075	11,336	0	0
Total .	153,919	£88,357	15	0

But it is held by those well acquainted with the value of land in that part of Ireland in which those estates are situated, that at the expiration of the present leases, which have on an average but a short time to run, at least an increase of £25 per cent. will be added to the amounts at present paid (judging by the demands made lately by the Mercers' Company for the renewal of their leases it would be more), which would raise the value of the whole of the companies' Irish estates to considerably more than two millions sterling, taking the rentals at four per cent. on the value of the realisable capital of the companies on these estates alone. Of the value of the companies' properties in the City and suburbs it would be difficult, as we before stated, to form any approximate idea, beyond the fact that it is assessed to the poor-rate at about £500,000 a year. Without taking into account the reversionary value of

* Owners of Land in Ireland, Parliamentary Return, 1876.

leases about to fall in, the assumed value of what is called waste land unlet in the City, and for which enormous sums are demanded, together with the value of their Irish estates, will at a moderate computation raise the amount of their annual income to nearly £600,000.

Beyond the pecuniary property in the hands of the City companies, they possess an almost fabulous amount of patronage, some of which we will bring under the notice of the reader, premising that the statements are taken from, perhaps, the best authority extant respecting the history of the wealthier City guilds—Herbert's history of the "Twelve Great Livery Companies of London."

The Mercers' Company possess the patronage of the following livings: the master, or "tutor," of Whittington's College at Highgate; the high mastership of St. Paul's, the sur-master of ditto, the under-master, or "ancient chaplain," of ditto, the assistant-master of ditto; the classical master of Mercers' School, the assistant ditto, the writing master of ditto, the assistant ditto; the Lent preacher at Mercers' Chapel, Cheapside; the preacher of various occasional sermons and lectures; the seven lecturers (jointly with the City) at the Gresham Lectures, Royal Exchange; the warden, twenty-two almsmen, officers, and servants of Trinity Hospital at Greenwich; the rectory of Kirton, in Lincolnshire, and the advowson and patronage of the vicarage; a lectureship at St. Bartholomew's, Threadneedle Street; lectureship at Hexham, in Northumber-

land; rectory of Canwick, Lincolnshire, and appointment of vicar; rectory of Repham, ditto; lectureship of Berwick-upon-Tweed; the lectureship of Grantham, Lincolnshire; and the rectory of Wakefield, Yorkshire; besides forty-five exhibitions or temporary pensions to poor scholars at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

The Grocers hold the mastership of the Free Grammar School at Oundle; the mastership of the Free School at Colwall, in Herefordshire; the mastership of the Free Grammar School at Witney, Oxfordshire, and the under-master of ditto; the third presentation to the rectory of St. Mary-le-Bow, Cheapside; the rectory of St. Austell, in the county of Cornwall; the rectory of Norhill in Bedfordshire; the rectory and patronage of the vicarage of Miborough, in Devonshire; the rectory of St. Stephen's, Walbrook; and the alternate patronage or presentation to the rectory of St. Mildred's, Poultry, with eight scholarships to Oxford and Cambridge. The Merchant Taylors possess in London and the country no fewer than six public schools: one on the ground lately occupied by the Charterhouse; one at Wolverhampton, in the county of Stafford; another at Great Crosby, in the parish of Shelton, county of Lancaster; a fourth at Audlem, in the county of Chester; a fifth at Ashwell, in the county of Herts; and the sixth at Wallingford, in the county of Berks. The company have, moreover, fifty-nine scholarships, many among them, it is true, but of small value to those who are rich, but still of importance to

those parents whose means are limited. The Ironmongers, Haberdashers, and Drapers have also valuable livings in their hands, the latter company, as we before stated, possessing one group of six advowsons, numerous schools and scholarships, none of the companies holding more than those we have mentioned, but several as many, all of which are considered by the members of the different liveries as their especial private property, but which are held by many legists of great eminence to have been placed in their hands solely as trust property "for the common benefit of the people."

But the excuse put forth by the livery companies "that the funds in their possession are private property when the uses for which they held the charitable trusts have been fulfilled to the letter, and the letter only; and they are justified in appropriating the surplus at their own discretion without interference or animadversion or criticism from outsiders. This view of the case ought to be disputed by every honest man, especially such as have the interests of the poor at heart. The theory has also received occasionally several severe shocks from legal decisions; and if the ruling of the court in the following case would be a correct one—and few but liverymen could doubt it—it seems probable that not less than *one hundred thousand* is upon its ruling annually taken from the pockets of the London poor and misappropriated. That we may make no mistake in the bearings of the case, we will quote verbatim Mr. Firth's ("Municipal London") description of it:—

"In 1570 one Robert Donkyn, formerly a member of the Merchant Taylors' Company, divided certain house property in Bishopsgate to the master, wardens, and commonalty of the Merchant Taylors' Company, to the extent and upon the condition that they should every year out of the rents provide for twelve poor men twelve gowns of Welsh frieze of the price of sixteen pence the yard, twelve shirts of the value of two shillings each shirt, twelve pairs of shoes of the value of twelve pence the pair; and he then provided in a similar manner for twelve poor women. The produce of the house property at the death of the testator was somewhat more than was requisite for the purpose, but since that time it has enormously increased, and until the Charity Commissioners heard of the case, the company pocketed the balance, taking, of course, due care to clothe the twelve poor men and twelve poor women."

It was held by the Master of the Rolls and the Court of Appeal *that the company were not entitled to appropriate the surplus to their own purposes.* Of course the intention of the testator is the basis upon which the decision rests. If he had given estates to a company, with the undertaking and upon the condition that they should make certain payments, as in the case of the Attorney-General *v.* The Wax Chandlers' Company, the decision would have been different; but there was in this case, as in the case of hundreds of others, no manifest intention to give the property to other than charitable uses.

"Robert Donkyn," Mr. Firth continues, "never supposed that the value of money and the price of frieze would change; still less did he suppose that the twelve or fifteen cottages and gardens, bringing in their thirty shillings a year each, and requiring constant repairs, would in the course of years be replaced by magnificent warehouses yielding a princely income. What would have been his bequest if such a prospect had been unrolled before him it is impossible to say; and the case is a striking illustration of the absurdity of allowing a testator to control the direction of land for hundreds of years. The Merchant Taylors' Company are now bound to expend the revenue in charitable purposes."

In addition to trusts of this kind, there are also many others where a valuable landed estate has been left for purposes which are altogether extinct. The payment of preachers in churches which have been pulled down —for example, at Paul's Cross and at other places—are of this class. A sum left to the marriage portioning of maidens are also of this class. For example, a bequest left to the Drapers' Company brought in more than £2,000 a year forty years ago, but most of it was applied to "corporate purposes."

Before quitting this portion of our subject we may be allowed to quote once more the above learned writer: "Whilst the ordinary funds at the command of the companies are mainly spent in salaries, pensions, and dinners, those that are expressly left for the purposes of charity are so bestowed, with a more or less

literal adhesion to the terms of the bequest. When a testator, three hundred years ago, left a house or land, to the intent that the income should be employed to pay a certain sum yearly to a schoolmaster, who should teach the poor children of the craft, he was of the opinion that the value of money, which for two hundred years had remained stationary, would so continue, and had not in contemplation that his land would increase in value twenty-fold. A large amount of land has been left to the City companies upon these and similar educational trusts. Sometimes the whole income is devoted to educational uses, which are, however, as a rule, widely different from what the donor intended; sometimes only the literal terms of the gifts are attended to, and the balance of income is appropriated by the companies for their own private purposes. There is no doubt that when the land or property is given with the intention that the company shall be merely trustees and not beneficiaries, then the balance is misappropriated. We cannot estimate the amount of such misappropriated balance; but the *Examiner* (a newspaper which has given great consideration to the question) estimates it at not less than *one hundred thousand* pounds per annum."

It may now fairly be asked why, if the trades and crafts nominally under the control of the City livery companies are open by their charters for all those practising them, they do not take up their freedom, and, by considering them in the light of their benefit societies, profit by the advantages to be derived by the

immense accumulation of property in the hands of their managers? The question is easily answered. The sums required to be paid for admission into the richer companies are so high, that those whose best policy it would be to join them are utterly unable to do so. How could an operative tailor, a mercer's shop assistant, male or female, a working saddler, or craftsmen of the following trades, raise the money to qualify himself for membership in any of the guilds which bears its name? If a man or woman wants to become a Draper, he must pay nearly £150; a Clothworker, £128; a Saddler, £64, and so on. And what is the result? Although the wardens, masters, and liverymen were formerly obliged to prove before election that they were *honest men, well skilled in their craft*, it would, as before stated, be now almost an impossibility to find one such case among them. Machyn in his Diary, 1556, speaking of the "Marchaund Tayllers' fest," held on the 2nd of July in that year, says that all the wardens of the company were not only tailors, but tailors' sons. Formerly the Merchant Taylors' School was used solely for tailors' sons, but Wilson, in his "History of the Merchant Taylors' School," 1812, *boasted* that there was not a boy among them that was the son of a tailor, and it is more than possible in the present day the same rule holds good—certainly there is not the son of an operative tailor among them. In the year 1701, as already mentioned, Sir William Gore, a member of the Mercers' Company, was chosen Lord Mayor of London. In his speech at the dinner which afterwards took

place in the Guildhall, he complimented the brethren of the mystery of mercerie "on having kept their members solely to those of their own trade." At the present time we believe there is not a member of the trade among them, or at the best but very few exceptions. They boast, however, that among their leading men are an ex-Lord Chancellor and the present Chief Justice of the Court of Queen's Bench.

To afford the reader a good idea of the mechanism and policy of the modern livery guilds, we cannot do better than quote *verbatim*, and at some length, the remarks of Mr. Firth on the subject: "The anxiety on the part of liverymen to be elected on the court of assistants of a company is readily understood when its advantages are known. Men are willing to pay down more than £100 to become members of the larger companies, and common sense tells us they do not do this without the hope of due reward. That reward takes many forms, and reaches its highest point when a man is elected on the court. Before he is elected to the court he may, if judicious and discreet, have some good pickings. He will probably have dinner tickets representing an outlay of £50 to £100 per annum, and he may get one of the many sinecure appointments at large salaries which are in the gift of the company. He may be its clerk, at a salary sometimes in excess of the market value of the duty he has to perform, or he may be solicitor, or deputy or assistant to these officers, or he may be auditor, remembrancer, librarian, chaplain, or standing counsel, and so on through many highly-paid offices,

the tenants of which enjoy the *maximum* of income with the *minimum* of work—in fact, sometimes without the shadow of it.

"But the good things culminate when a man is elected to the court of assistants. It is a matter of common repute that the estates of companies are often leased to members at absurd rentals, enabling the lucky lessees to make an excellent profit in re-letting them. In the estimates given of the aggregate incomes of companies we have considered these estates at their real value, not at the value put upon them by the companies.* It is clear that we are justified in regarding that as income of the company which is allowed to various members in the way of beneficial leases. Every now and then, as feast days come round, the members of a livery will receive a few pounds a head in memory of some ancient benefactor. The responsibility of a seat on the court carries with it a salary; the meetings of the committee are duly paid for; some

* When the above was in type, our attention was called to the following letter to the Editor of the *Echo*: "In Herbert's 'History of the City Companies' it is recorded that an alderman devised by his will to his company, to pay 6*d*. weekly to seven poor members of the company, 'such as had been householders or occupiers of the said mystery, and had fallen into decay or poverty,' two houses in Bow, in the ward of Cheap, two ditto with a garden and appurtenances in Lothbury, 'that great messuage with the garden in the parish of Saint Peter-le-Poer, and a piece of ground with stables in Saint Olave's.' On searching the Parliamentary Returns I find the company concerned returns this as a bequest of £9 2*s*. per annum, and that sum is devoted annually as prescribed. One of these six properties was recently offered as a leasehold property for sale, the ground rent paid to the company being over £3,000 per annum. I think I am not far out in putting the six at about £25,000 per annum."

companies have dinners of some kind as often as once a week."

When speaking of the manner the City guilds escape their present fair share of taxation, and the stringent manner they were formerly (and, according to their statutes, are at present) under the control of the Crown, Mr. Firth continues: "The universities and colleges of Oxford and Cambridge hold more than three hundred thousand acres of land in mortmain, and the City companies, if we include their Irish estates, probably still more. These lands do not contribute their fair share to the revenue, even if the income derived from them were rightly employed. Thus upon land in the hands of private owners succession duty is paid once every twenty or thirty years, but upon these lands never. If it were proposed that the tenure should continue, the remedy might be found in revaluing the estates every thirty years or so, and then charging a certain percentage by way of duty. It is estimated that if all land in mortmain were made to pay its fair share of succession duty upon the above principle, this source of public revenue would be increased by something like two and two and a half millions per annum. . . . . The companies have now divorced the trade from the property, and, keeping the latter, care little for the former. But their conduct was very different some three hundred years ago, and their privileges and property suffered constant revision, and were only confirmed by succeeding sovereigns for good consideration. Henry VIII. made them pay large sums of

money. In 1545 he made them pay him more than £20,000 towards the expenses of the Scotch war. In 1551 he ordered the Drapers' Company to supply a vessel for foreign enterprise, and they forthwith did so. In 1546 took place a visitation on the suppression of chantries, and a commission was appointed to make a full disclosure of all property, &c., of the livery companies. King Edward VI. received £18,700 under this commission. Queen Mary obtained £65,000 from the livery companies towards the expenses of the French war. Queen Elizabeth is said to have extracted as much as £140,000 from them, and then compelled them to borrow it back on the security of their own gold plate, and to pay the Crown seven per cent. for the loan. James I., who incorporated no fewer than fifteen new monopolous companies, took care to be well paid for all the charters he granted. Nine of the twelve great companies had new charters from this monarch, making their powers over their trades more absolute than ever. Charles I. exacted large payments for his favours from the companies. At one assembly of the Common Hall no less a sum than £100,000 was voted, and precepts issued by the companies for its collection. They were still further impoverished under the Commonwealth; but so great was their recuperative power, that they welcomed Charles II., at the Restoration, with most magnificent presents."

In the above list of fines and contributions imposed upon the livery companies, the reader should bear in mind the different value of moneys in those reigns and

the present day. By assuming that money was then at least five times scarcer than with us, and that the area of the metropolis, as well as its population, was not a twentieth part that which is now comprised within the metropolitan area, and the wealth of the population fully as much less, he will form a juster estimate of the enormous amount of taxation former monarchs levied from the City livery companies.

We will now refer the reader to the speech of the Lord Mayor at the dinner given by him to the masters of the City guilds and their wives mentioned at the commencement of the present chapter, and how far the compliments paid to the livery companies and the manner in which they performed their duties were merited. Of the many guilds, only some six or seven fulfil, even in the slightest manner, the duties their charters imposed upon them. The Stationers' Company, it is true, keep a register of new books, but do little for "the greater encouragement of the production of literary works of lasting benefit to the world," as it was intended by the statute of George III. confirmed in 1842. The Apothecaries exercise some control over their trade, far beyond "the City and suburbs, and within seven miles thereof." They also examine candidates as to their skill in pharmacy, and are empowered to destroy adulterated drugs. The Goldsmiths confine themselves to the inspection of the precious metals, but do not appear to take the slightest trouble about manufactured goods. The Gunmakers have statutory powers to prove gun barrels. The Fishmongers no

longer control their trade as formerly enforced, but certainly are of great public service in their condemnation of unsaleable fish. Beyond the examples named, could the Lord Mayor inform us what further trade duties are performed by the City guilds? We know of none. Of these modern charities and the manner in which they are administered we will not at present speak, as they will be touched upon in a future chapter; and we will conclude the present by merely remarking that if the City guilds perform their duty in a satisfactory manner, it would be difficult indeed to name any gross abuse which may not possess such vast mitigating circumstances as shall fully absolve any objectionable qualities they may contain, no matter how gross they may be.

CHAPTER IX.

THE CORPORATION.

HAVING given a sketch of the origin and present condition of the City livery companies, as well as the vast wealth in their possession for charitable, educational, and municipal purposes, as well as the manner a large proportion of that wealth is squandered, misappropriated, or frittered away in pageantry, feasting, and other similar purposes, we will now quit that portion of our subject, and turn our attention to the government of the City of London, and the extravagance displayed in its administration. Before doing so, however, and by way of making that extravagance stand out in still stronger relief, we would call the attention of the reader to the fact that the immense sums we shall have to deal with, and the vast power in the hands of the Corporation, are placed under the control of a body of men representing about a one-hundredth part of the population of the metropolis, or in fact not more than a third that of the parish of St. Pancras. Nay, more, that proportion is annually decreasing as far as regards the City, and, as has been

the case for the last forty years, in proportion as the number of the inhabitants decreases, the wealth in the hands of the remainder increases in a far greater degree.

Before fairly attacking the abuses and absurdities, as well as extravagances, to be found in the administration of affairs in the City, it may be as well to give the reader, who may not have paid much attention to the subject, a short description of the organization of the Corporation, dwelling afterwards on some of the more salient anomalies to be detected in it; and for this purpose we cannot do better than to quote *verbatim* some extracts from an admirable article in the *Westminster Review*, on the Government of London, January, 1876: "We all know," says the writer, "that London is made up of the City and numerous districts which form around it a honeycomb of great cities. All questions respecting it are virtually imperial questions; all the great interests of the country flow into or have a stake in one or other of the centres. Unlike other towns, London is at once the home of royalty, the seat of Government, and a congregation of rank, fashion, and luxury. The total area of the metropolis covers nearly 80,000 acres, and of this area the historical Corporation of the City of London occupies 702 acres only. The government of this total area is confided to the City Corporation, the Corporation of Westminster, the Metropolitan Board, vestries and district boards, and boards of guardians, &c.

"The City proper is governed by the Mayor, Alder-

men, Court of Common Council, and Court of Common Hall. It is divided into twenty-six wards of varying size, and has some eighty guilds and companies, the members of which are admitted on varying conditions, and are called liverymen and freemen. The Common Council is elected annually, the Aldermen for life. The Court of Aldermen has executive and judicial authority, the Court of Common Council both legislative and administrative authority, and these powers are sought to be preserved in the bills recently before Parliament. The Court of Common Hall is composed of the Lord Mayor, four aldermen, and the *liverymen of the City* guilds, and nominates yearly two aldermen for the Court of Aldermen to select one for the office of Lord Mayor. The Lord Mayor is not, therefore, chosen directly by the electors, and the electors are not of necessity resident householders. The aldermen and councillors of each ward exercise authority in the ward, and courts are held called wardmotes. Although each ward elects an alderman, the wards are of unequal size. There are some small wards and some large ones, but more small wards than large ones, so that a minority hold power, but it is questionable how far such minority represent the intelligence and property of the whole. Some wards have been nearly absorbed for the sites of railway stations, like Cannon Street, and the London, Chatham, and Dover in Farringdon Street, and other local improvements like the Post Office. Every alderman is a judge and a magistrate, not only for his own ward, but the whole City; and

as nobody pretends that aldermen are qualified to exercise magisterial functions, highly paid officials are retained as chief clerks to advise them on questions of law and justice. They have the superintendence of prisons, and are governors of the royal hospitals; they appoint the Recorder and many other important officials; and they are not only members of their own court, but sit and vote in the Court of Common Council. Every alderman is eligible in his turn for the office of Lord Mayor, so that a small ward elects the Mayor, and elevates to baronetcies and peerages the favoured Grocer or Tallow Chandler in its midst. The roll of nobility in alliance with such fortunate nominees is great, and Mr. Orridge lately presented to his fellow-citizens a laboured detail of such royal and other alliances flowing from this humble fount. In his office the Lord Mayor has great power; he may obstruct the work of the Court of Common Council by dissolving it at any stage of its sitting, and this prerogative belongs also to aldermen by withdrawing from the Council Chamber, and so rendering their proceedings informal. The Court of Common Council has the management of all the finances of the Corporation, the hereditary revenues, and the City lands. Its work is chiefly done by committees, and the position of chairman of these is eagerly sought for as a stepping-stone to other corporate dignities; but the Commissioners of 1854 thought these committees too large, and so reported and expressed the same opinion with regard to the members of the Court of Common Council. The Corporation controls

its own police, and the City has maintained its right to this municipal action on repeated occasions when the Government of the day has sought to invade it. . . . The City is made joint authority with the Metropolitan Board in dealing with the funds to free the bridges within sixteen miles of St. Paul's, but the junction of interests has not improved their acquaintance. To the rivalry established we doubtless owe many great improvements. The City, so long dormant as to the Holborn Viaduct, was quickened by the jealousy of the new authority entering its gates. The splendour of these improvements, the new Meat Market, the new Blackfriars Bridge, its energy in dealing with vacant lands, its action in securing the City of London Gas Act, were stimulated by its vicinity to the labours and works of its rival."

And all this tremendous array of mechanism for the purpose of working and the administration of a district of the metropolis not containing a population greater than one-third part that of the parish of St. Pancras; for it should be borne in mind, that although that most powerful portion of the Corporation, or Municipality, of the City of London, the livery companies, hold rule on an average over trades, &c., almost to the full area comprised in the Metropolis Local Management Act, with funds in their hands for that purpose, they dishonestly evade the performance of those duties. The bare consideration of the subject seems to bring with it a mingled feeling of a parody of the sublime and a reality of the ridiculous. Let us, in exemplification,

attempt to trace, in the first place, the career of the Lord Mayor, his cost, and that of some of his officials, as well as his pageantry and surroundings. Let us take, as an example, the expenditure incurred by a late Lord Mayor, as recently published in the accounts of the City Corporation; and be it understood that the sum total is rather below the average of mayoralties than above it. In the first place, there is the salary of the right hon. gentleman himself, £10,000, plus an allowance of £83 6*s.* 8*d.* for income-tax; and then follows an item of £17 10*s.* for a violet robe for my Lord Mayor, immediately followed by another of £65 for a reception robe for my Lord Mayor. We have then the salary of the Lord Mayor's Chaplain, £97 10*s.* Against this entry no exception ought to be taken, as it is decidedly cheap at the money, when the duties he has to perform are taken into consideration, as well as injury to his health. No dinner would be complete without him. These dinners, as a rule, must be a serious element in the duties of City livery chaplains and others connected with civic hospitality. We remember, some years since, when a certain Ordinary of Newgate was questioned as to the amount of spiritual consolation he bestowed on prisoners the day on which they were condemned to death, he replied, "that he was not able to comfort and console them to the extent he wished, as he had daily, during the sessions, to take the chair at two dinners."

To return to the expenditure incurred by the office of Lord Mayor. The next article on the list was the

sum of £600, paid to Messrs. Gillow for decorative work at the Mansion House; ditto for painters, £82; ditto for repairs, £1,086; cleaning, £150; winding clocks, £17; furniture repairs, £537; plate and repairs to plate, £71. These appear to have been the whole of the items connected with the Mansion House. With the stabling department we find—repairs to state coach and harness, £52; and one or two other trifling sums for insurance, &c. Connected with the ceremonies on Lord Mayor's day the items become more serious. For example, the fees for presenting the Lord Mayor to the Lord Chancellor are set down at £12 12*s.* 8*d.*; lighting Guildhall for Lord Mayor's day, £200; decorations for Lord Mayor's day, £324 16*s.* 8*d.*; the Sheriffs (customary allowance), £687 6*s.* 8*d.*; Sword-bearer, £300. What possibly can be the use of this official, or what his duties can be to warrant such a salary, we are utterly at a loss to imagine. Again, Sergeants-at-Arms are set down at £250. But the following item surpasses all. It is no less than £134 for robes for Sword-bearer. Then come bequests to Sheriffs, which appear not to have been included in the sum above named, £36. Then again come "another usual allowance" to Sheriffs, £50; the Water Bailiff's second young man, whoever that fortunate young gentleman may be, £110; the trumpeters, £23 18*s.*; the Sheriffs' Yeomen, £487.

Of course the amounts mentioned above do not include those incurred by the annual Lord Mayor's Show. These appear to be yearly increasing in splendour, as

if attempting to imitate the gorgeous pageantries of former days, of which we have so many minute accounts still to be found in the archives of the Corporation and different livery companies. But our modern "shows" strangely differ in one respect from those of our ancestors. It was formerly the custom to carry in the procession a banner emblematical of the trade or craft of the guild of which the Lord Mayor was a member, to which he had been apprenticed, and which he then practised. There were as well pageants of the other guilds who took part in the procession or festivities attendant on the ceremony. For example, the Ironmongers had a trade pageant representing the Lemnians' Forge, with Vulcan, the smith of Lemnos, at work, surrounded by his servants in black hair waistcoats and leather aprons. The Skinners, in 1671, had a pageant which represented a wilderness, consisting of a variety of trees, bushes, shrubs, brambles, and thickets, inhabited and haunted by divers wild beasts, and birds of various kinds and colours. Sir Thomas Kelkington, of the same company, Mayor in 1689, varied this scene of a *wilderness*, called "The Company's Pageant," by introducing, in addition to the wild beasts of the former show, "wolves, bears, panthers and leopards, sables and beavers, together with *dogs, cats, foxes,* and *rabbits,*" and which latter, the account says, "were tost up now and then into a balcony full of spectators, which fell upon the company's heads, and being by them tost again into the crowd, afforded great diversion."* The

* Herbert, vol. i. page 205.

Drapers, in 1679, had a pageant still more in character, representing Salisbury Plain, "where rustic shepherds and shepherdesses were feeding and folding their flocks," and "for the future exaltation of the Drapers' delight, here were several trades met together, all pertinent to the making of cloth, as carders, spinners, dyers, woolcombers and shearers, dressers, fullers, and weavers, which were set without order, because the excellence of this same did consist in confusion." The Vintners had a pageant of a vineyard, with the triumph of Bacchus and other appropriate devices. The pageant of the Goldsmiths was still more indicative of their craft. It represented a goldsmith's laboratory, and is described as representing a spacious workshop, of several artificers, distinct in the proper department for the several operations in the mystery of goldsmiths, containing forges, anvils, hammers, and other instruments of their art. In the midst, on a rich golden chair, sat St. Dunstan, the ancient patron and guardian of the company, *in pontificatibus*, in one hand a golden crosier, in the other his goldsmith's tongs, with the devil beneath his feet. A large goldsmith's forge faced the saint's throne, with fire, crucibles, &c., and a boy blowing the bellows. The Grocers' Company's pageant was equally indicative of their trade. When opposite Bow Church, his lordship was entertained with a "scean of drollery," in which were *Americians* (Americans); some were pruning, others gathering, others planting several sorts of *grocery*, others disporting and throwing their fruit about to show the abundance or profit of labour, others

making music (after their labour) on the *tongs and other antique instruments.* But if more were required to show the *trade* indication of the Lord Mayor of the day, 1661, it may be found in the fact "that 50 sugar loaves, 36 lbs. of nutmegs, 24 lbs. of dates, were thrown among the people during the procession, by those which sat of the griffins and camels."

All the other City companies, without exception, carried or performed in the procession pageants or scenic representations of the trade or craft to which the Lord Mayor belonged, and which he was practising at the time of his mayoralty. Would it be possible in the present day to find one who was in the trade of which the guild to which he belonged bore the name? If so, it would be a remarkable exception to the rule. Could a more bitter satire be conceived than bearing in the procession pageants such as we have described in any of our Lord Mayor's shows? One credit, however, is due to the civic authorities entrusted with the management of these displays, and that, too, in good taste—their keeping from sight anything which might remind the spectator of the origin or uses of the trade guilds from which our present Lord Mayors are selected.

But after all, and notwithstanding the absurd anomalies by which he is surrounded, the Lord Mayor is a personage of great and real importance. After he has been presented to the Lord Chancellor, in lieu of the monarch, which always takes place on the 8th of November, he is sworn in before the Aldermen and the Lord Mayor who is about retiring from office, and he is then

presented to the Judges at Westminster. When he has taken office he is Lord Lieutenant within the City. He is chief butler at the coronation, and beside his sword of state, of which we have already spoken, he is allowed to have his mace, the same as royalty (granted, in so many words, by the fourth charter of Edward III.), carried before him, and his sergeants to bear that and the sword, his marshals and his marshals' men, his state coach—which, as was stated by a former Lord Mayor, "it was to be hoped would last for ever, as it had been painted by Madame Vestris's father"—a palace, and a banqueting hall in which to dispense civic hospitalities to the potentates of the earth who periodically come into our midst. He is the chief depositary of the privileges and asserter of the rights of the City. Thus, in strict law,* he is the meter of coal, salt, and fruit, and the gauger of wine and oil. He was also formerly Conservator of the Thames and Admiral of the Port; but many of these offices are lessened in importance or abolished, and most of them can be performed by deputy. He is a justice of oyer and terminer, and a justice of the peace for the City. He is the *ex-officio* chairman of the Court of Aldermen, the Court of Common Council, and the Court of Common Hall.

But important as the duties and position of the Lord Mayor of London may be in the present day, the office is greatly shorn of its ancient splendour and dignity, and with it the importance of the Aldermen,

* Firth's "Municipal London."

Common Council, and other civic dignitaries and officials, have sunk in equal proportion. Who would imagine that the alderman of Portsoken ward with its hundred constituents, or still more Dowgate with its forty-one, or Queenhithe with its twenty-six, in common with the other wards, could ever have been the important personage thus described by Stow?—"This name of true dignity declareth the most eminent degree of magistracy, and it doth extend through all England, in cities, towns, and corporations, in which sometimes the alderman is sole and chief. Even so in the chief city of the land, in London, the metropolis of Great Britain, the mother of authentic memory, the ancient and eke the modern seat of her royalty, yea, the very chamber royal of Majesty, the open haven of merchandize, the storehouse of commerce, and the safe asylum of peace and plenty."

With the other City officials we need detain the reader but a very short time. The principal civic power after the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen is the Court of Common Council. It is composed of 26 aldermen and 206 councillors, making a total of 232—an assembly of which the Lord Mayor is *ex-officio* chairman. The needful quorum includes the Lord Mayor or his deputy, two aldermen, and 36 common councillors. The Court of Common Council is the great legislative body of the City; it elects most of the officials of the Corporation, and it has unlimited control over the City cash. To it is confided the management of the great estates of the Corporation, and the control of the common seal. Most

of the executive work is delegated to one or other of the committees selected from it, the numbers of which, as reported by the commissioners of 1854, "are inconveniently large." The members receive certain payments for attendance, and indulge in an excursion in summer. The annual cost of these committees in this way is considerable, and is defrayed out of the City purse (*qy.* Metropolitan) by a warrant directed to the Chamberlain. The Lord Mayor may also at any time dissolve the court by an order to his sword-bearer to remove the sword.

One of the principal points remaining to be noticed in the government of the City of London is its wards, of which there are no fewer than twenty-six, each with an organization of its own, and with its clerk and other officials. We have thus, without counting the great Corporation salaried officers, a staff for the management and control of the affairs of the seventy thousand inhabitants of London a Lord Mayor, two sheriffs, 26 aldermen, and 206 common councillors, without taking into consideration the staff of the twenty-six wards. Let us now ascertain as nearly as we can, or at any rate somewhat approximately, what is the expenditure incurred by these gentlemen in their management of the affairs of the City; and here again we quote from the article in the *Westminster Review*. Alluding to the cause of the enormous expenditure of the Corporation, the writer goes on to say: "This (lavish expenditure and feasting) is made the occasion for the distribution of honours—knighthoods and baronetcies—which have

fallen so thickly on recent lord mayors and sheriffs, the elect of the little wards of the City area, and the extravagance of the Corporation has been the price at which they have been bought. The mayoralty costs the chamber over £15,000 per annum; and the two Sheriffs nearly £2,000 per annum more; the officers of State and law officers — officers of every department — are retained at princely salaries. It allows nearly £4,000 per annum to committees of the Corporation for refreshments. In opening West Ham Park it spent in pageantry and refreshments over £700. In the spirited exercise of its power to save Epping Forest it spent for law costs alone £11,000; in receiving the Emperor of Russia over £13,000 were extracted from the City cash. In unveiling the statue of the late Prince Consort £1,800 were devoted to dining and other festivities. The Town Clerk's establishment costs over £4,000 a year, and that of the Architect over £2,400; Mr. Remembrancer, £2,500; Mr. Comptroller, nearly £3,000; the City Solicitor, £2,800; the *ward clerks* over £4,000. The judges, magistrates, police, prisons, and courts of law absorb £125,000 per annum, as a set-off against which it takes credit for £10,000 for the value of felons' goods forfeited."

In the letters signed "Nemesis" in the *Weekly Dispatch* is an amusing analysis of many of the above items: "How an official auditor," says the writer, "would gloat could he ransack Mr. Chamberlain's archives by a sudden command; what secrets would he disclose! But mind, there is no audit. The accounts produced

are signed by the chairman and a few members of the committee, but official audit by responsible officers there is none. The necessity for an official auditor, I think, will be apparent if your readers will follow me in an analysis of one branch of the City expenditure. What is paid to City officials? To learn this you must not omit one of the 130 pages of accounts, and you will have to thread through them with care to find in out-of-the-way corners explanations and gratuities in several accounts to one officer, and proportions of salary charged to varying divisions. Take Mr. Solicitor. He will be found in fifteen pages and thirty items at least. His salary is stated at £1,800 a year, expenses of his office £1,003. But there are law costs charged or paid him, 'costs' amounting to £1,386 5*s.* 8*d.*; expenses allowed, £1,289 4*s.* 2*d.*; various solicitors' costs, £272 3*s.* 9*d.*; and one little bill for Epping Forest work of £11,998 14*s.* 6*d.*; total, £17,699 8*s.* 2*d.* . . . . One of the most extraordinary officials is 'Mr. Hall-keeper.' He crops up in twenty-seven places. His work is most multifarious and extraordinary. He spent at laying the foundation-stone at Billingsgate £127 13*s.*; and then, if I am to believe the *City Press*, they had a paragraph in which 'Mr. Hall-keeper' flourishes :—

"'CLOTHING THE MINISTRY.

"'The ancient custom of making a present of fine cloth to certain high officers of State and gentlemen of

her Majesty's household has been observed by a committee of the Court of Aldermen last week. The custom seems to have originated in a desire to encourage competition in the ancient woollen clothwork of the City by sending specimens of its finest produce to those best qualified to judge of its excellence. Blackwell Hall, the head-quarters of the trade in former days, covered the spot where the City Library now stands. It has also been suggested that the present was made as a bribe to cover the monopoly of the cloth trade which the City formerly enjoyed. The official order for the distribution provides that pieces of cloth of four and a half yards each shall be sent to the first Secretary of State, the Lord Chancellor, the Chamberlain of the Household, the Vice-Chamberlain of the Household, the Lord Steward, the Comptroller, the Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, the Master of the Rolls, the Recorder of London, the Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General, and the Common Serjeant. The order further states that six yards of black cloth and six yards of green cloth shall be given to the Town Clerk, four yards of black and two yards of green cloth to the chief clerk in the Town Clerk's office, four yards to the attorney of the Exchequer, and four yards to the attorney in Chancery, four yards to the Recorder's clerk, and four yards to the usher to the Court of Aldermen. The hall-keeper receives at the same time the usual supply of green cloths for the tables in the courts and committee-rooms, varying according to circumstances.

The distribution is carried out by Mr. Hadland, the hall-keeper.'

"Mr. Hall-keeper's official salary and other emoluments are £400 per annum; he paid gas committee's expenses, £100; for a trip to see the Queen at Windsor (much against her Majesty's expressed wish, by the way), £134 4*s.* 3*d.* When the Lord Mayor went to St. Paul's, somehow Mr. Hall-keeper spent £150; and when he went to the Duke of Edinburgh's, £89 19*s.* 6*d.*; he spent besides on assistants and little luncheons, &c., £2,484, or a total of £3,993 16*s.*

"Mr. Architect must not be neglected. He has had a splendid douceur in consideration of his many years' services, and moreover a salary of £1,500 a year, while his assistants figure for £907 more. His other expenses are—for a model, £200; for a clerk of the works, £150; and for sundries, £1,836; or a total of £4,503. Another great official is Mr. Comptroller, who manages the City estates. His salary is £2,000, and expenses of office allowed £969; with law and costs and expenses of a committee, £153 3*s.*; and expenses in addition, £565 2*s.* 6*d.* But then Mr. Comptroller does not do all the estate business. We have a 'quickener' of City tenants, and a gentleman to let vacant City lands, paid partly by salary, partly by commission got out of City cash, who appears in the accounts for £463; a superintendent of labourers, £163 13*s.*; an inspector of fruit and clerk of the coal dues (the same individual), for himself and his assistants,

£2,137. Then, again, there is the Recorder, with a salary of £2,000 per annum, and a judge of the Lord Mayor's Court, and many other officials for the management and well-being of less than the hundredth part of the population of the metropolis."

But there are two or three other civic officials to whom it would be an injustice not to give them a short notice; and the first of these is the Town Clerk. The accounts must be searched in many pages in which Mr. Town Clerk and his assistants can be got at; but when you do succeed, you arrive at the fact that his salary is £1,500, and that in addition, in disbursements, salaries, and gratuities, a sum over £3,000 is expended. This, says Nemesis, will strike the most hurried observer as a startling total—£4,500 as the cost of a secretary's establishment for the *one*-hundredth part of the population of the metropolis.

The next important official worthy of notice is Mr. Remembrancer. His salary is £1,800 per annum, recently augmented, his disbursements—expenses of office, expenses in relation to bills in Parliament, parliamentary expenses £300 (whatever that may mean)—altogether amounting to £3,968 5*s.* 3*d.* Thousands of pounds are sometimes spent in opposing one bill. The principal duties of the office appear to be to attend daily the Houses of Parliament during the session, and to report to the Corporation on any measure affecting the City interests, and particularly to stop any effort at reform, or any measure for the good of the metropolis, to oppose "improvement bills" of the Metropolitan

Board of Works, unless the City is protected or excluded, and other similar duties. The Remembrancer is also great in the forms and ceremonies of civic pageantry, to aid him in his arduous duties in the House of Commons. Every reception of a Czar, or a Shah, or a Khedive, is an opportunity to summon adherents, members of the House of Peers, members of the House of Commons, potent individuals from every circle—even vestrymen are invited—to secure their alliance, "tying the weak and the strong, the poor and the powerful, to the great civic Juggernaut." *

But the Chamberlain is the brains of the Corporation—its prime minister. He was formerly appointed by the King. He is the treasurer and banker of the Corporation. He is nominally elected yearly, in reality for life, and vast sums are sometimes expended to secure the office—Nemesis tells us as much as £10,000—and aldermen have subscribed largely to secure the election of a brother alderman. Himself, his cashier and clerks, and expenses, cost £69,000 per annum. Out of this his own salary is £2,500, and with emoluments is estimated at about £3,200 per annum. He gives security for £30,000 to the Corporation. He had formerly, if he has not now, power over the City apprentices, and can or could commit them to prison. He unites magisterial with executive functions, and he is the laureate or orator of the Corporation.

Of the cost of civic gluttony apart from the £150,000 a year, including all accessories, rent of halls, &c., of the livery companies, we have not before us any definite

* Nemesis.

figures to arrive at even an approximate total, but it must be something enormous. One item alone will go far to prove the extent to which this ignoble vice is carried by those who have the administration of civic affairs. We mentioned that allowances were made for refreshments of the different committees appointed by the Corporation, and composed of aldermen and common councilmen. The annual cost of this alone is as follows:—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
The Committee for letting City Lands	400	0	0
Bridge House Estate Committee	300	0	0
Commissioners of Sewers	400	0	0
Corn, Coal, and Finance Committees	200	0	0
General Purposes Committees	200	0	0
Officers and Clerks Committee	100	0	0
Markets Improvement Committee	200	0	0
Cattle Market Committee	200	0	0
Law and Parliamentary Committee	100	0	0
Local Government Committee	150	0	0
Grain Metage Committee	100	0	0
For summer trips and excursions to Richmond, Greenwich, &c.	750	0	0

It would be tedious to go into further details on the subject of feasting. The reader has already had brought under his notice the entertainments to the Emperor of Russia and Shah of Persia, the Prince of Wales, and other celebrities. Mr. Firth remarks, "It is alleged that while the allowances and expenses for refreshment of the City committees, &c., are expended on food, drink, and costs of travelling, no money is paid to members. And the proceeding is defended on the ground, no doubt a true one, that the attendance is

much more numerous, and the work obtained from members much better than it would be if they were sent empty away. But while we sympathize with the poor-law guardians in being surcharged by a ruthless auditor the cost of a cup of tea, we are not prepared to say that the City is spending its money properly in feeding committees of thirty or forty at this rate."

The City estate accounts are examined by auditors appointed by that remarkable body, "The Common Hall." The audit of what the Corporation are pleased to call their "public and trust accounts" is by the Corporation. Thus we see that although the Corporation succeeds in levying heavy taxes upon the suburban Londoner, it takes very good care that he shall have no part in the returns or emoluments, and, moreover, that he shall have no guarantee that his money is expended properly. A spending body that is its own trustee and its own auditor must be of remarkable composition if it does not now and then overlook its own extravagances. The City seems to have regarded any fair attempt at economy as useless, and so the flood tide of extravagance sweeps through all their accounts. If Mr. Lloyd Roberts, the excellent auditor of the London School Board and of the Poor-law Board accounts were to be authorised to audit the accounts of the City Chamberlain, he would probably surcharge these luxurious trustees something like £60,000.*

* The total amount expended on the City reception of the Sultan, the King of the Belgians, the recovery of the Prince of Wales, the Shah of Persia, and the Emperor of Russia, was £72,721.

Another singular item in civic expenditure, seldom spoken of, but well worthy of serious consideration, is that of repairs; and an audit of these alone would bring forward some singular facts. Let us take, for example, the two most important buildings connected with the Corporation—the Mansion House and the Guildhall. In the year 1874 alone no less than £1,772 was expended in repairs on the Mansion House, and £812 in decoration, and yet in the previous year no less than £3,000 was expended on repairs, decoration, and furniture. The actual amount charged against the City's estate during the last ten years amounts at least to £20,000, whilst the cost of furniture and decorations during the same period amounts to nearly £15,000 more. The total cost of keeping up this building since 1865, exclusive of salaries, has been about £53,000; and it is reported that for want of sufficient repairs it is even now in a most unsatisfactory condition.

The expenditure for repairs on the Mansion House, heavy as they appear at first sight, are trifling when compared with the sums expended for repairs on the Guildhall. During the year 1874 the cost of maintaining this building was no less than £22,478, from which, however, the salaries of the hall-keeper and printing (about £2,000) must be deducted. Nor is the expenditure for repairs in 1874 in any way beyond the annual average, for during the last ten years, in ordinary repairs, the sum amounts to £24,000, to which must be added the cost of a new roof in 1866 of £23,729. The total amount spent on the Guildhall during ten years

ending 1874 amounted to no less than £117,476. Other buildings also require frequent and costly repair, among others Temple Bar and the Monument. More than £1,000 has been spent in ten years on that admirable specimen of City taste, as well as just appreciation of the fine arts—"The Lord Mayor's State Coach."

We have already placed before the reader an account of some of the salaries paid to City officials, and the machinery for the administration of affairs of a district of the metropolis with a population numbering, as we before said, considerably less than one-third the population of the parish of St. Pancras. As it would be a waste of the reader's time to go through it again, we will content ourselves with giving merely the total amount to which wages and salaries reach, considering all sums less than £200 per annum as wages and above that amount as salaries, and the result would be as follows: wages would amount to £115,000 per annum, and salaries to about £65,000. But in addition to these salaries there are other items which ought to be added, which would increase the amount of salaries enormously. The livery companies, if they performed their duties honestly, have many onerous duties to perform, and for which funds are in their hands. To what amount the wages and salaries of their staffs would amount no one can tell, but putting the gross salaries of their clerks and principal officials at only £15,000 per annum, it would raise the sum total to £80,000 per annum. When speaking of such enor-

mous amounts paid for duties performed, or which ought to be performed, we are apt to be embarrassed by their magnitude, and not to realise them distinctly unless contrasted with other salaries for which the duties performed are equally onerous and important, or possibly more so; and as the City officials are punctilious on points of dignity, we will take our equivalents from sources which will do them no discredit. For example, the annual salary of—

	£	s.	d.
The Lord Chamberlain is	2,000	0	0
The Prime Minister	5,000	0	0
Secretary of State Home Department	5,000	0	0
„ „ Foreign Affairs	5,000	0	0
„ „ Colonies	5,000	0	0
„ „ India	5,000	0	0
„ „ War	5,000	0	0
First Lord of the Admiralty	4,500	0	0
Lord President of the Privy Council	2,000	0	0
The Lord Chief Justice Queen's Bench	8,000	0	0
„ „ Common Pleas	7,000	0	0
President Council of Education	2,000	0	0
President of Local Government Board	2,000	0	0
President Board of Trade	2,000	0	0

Making a total, without touching salaries under £200 per annum, of some £18,000 per annum less than the annual sums paid for the services of the City officials.

But the reader must not imagine the profits and emoluments attached to the officials in the employ of the City are all comprised in their salaries, for such is far from being the case. For example, Mr. Firth* gives many instances of most valuable emoluments paid to our civic

* "Municipal London."

functionaries, which, though not comprised in their salaries, would go far to swell the £80,000 quoted above. "In illustration of the observation previously made as to gratuities, we may take the case of the City Engineer. The Commissioners of Sewers pay him a salary of £1,625 a year, but, in addition to the service rendered on this account, he is allowed two separate sums of £1,550 and £71 respectively, on account of professional services rendered in respect to the improvements in Holborn Valley and Farringdon Market. The same official received in 1873 for extra professional services, £849; in 1872, £1,281; in 1871, £8,400; in 1870, £1,605; in 1869, £800. It is certainly open to grave question whether the Corporation, who, for all practical purposes, are as much the trustees of the Holborn Valley Fund as they are of the consolidated rate—each account being managed by a committee of their whole body—are justified in giving large gratuities of this kind merely because they allow the servant of one committee to render assistance to another. It is quite clear that the Commissioners of Sewers are presumed to pay the Engineer for the whole of his time, and no reduction is made in his salary for the time given elsewhere. As an illustration of another form in which gratuities are given, may be quoted the payments made on the occasion of the visit of the Czar. On this occasion various clerks in the office of the Town Clerk, Architect, &c., received sums varying in amount from fifty guineas downwards on account of their 'extra services.'

"When any office is altered in its character or is

abolished, it is customary to increase the salary, or to bestow some gratuity on the holder. As an illustration of the latter may be taken the abolition of Whitecross Street Prison in 1870, on which occasion the surgeon received a gratuity of £400, and other officials of the prison proportionate amounts. As an illustration of the former may be taken the post of judge in the City of London Court. In 1866 this absorbent official received, as judge of the Sheriffs' Court, £900. In 1867, when the court was assimilated to a county court, he received in salary and compensation, £1,799. In 1868 he received as judge of the City of London Court £900, and £300 more was added on account of the newly assumed equitable jurisdiction. In 1869, on account of salary and compensation with respect to the judgeship of this court, he appears to have received £2,495. The salary of this office was subsequently advanced to £1,800 a year, and in 1871 £105 was allowed in addition to enable him to pay a deputy. In 1875, in consequence of the Admiralty jurisdiction conferred on the court some years before, the judge of this court was voted by the Common Council a further salary of £300 per annum, and compensation to the amount of £1,000 on account of the discharge of this special duty during preceding years."

Nor are these the only advantages accruing to faithful service. In 1873 the sum of £5,000 was voted as a special gratuity to the City Architect "in recognition of the satisfactory manner in which he had carried out the large works entrusted to him during the preceding

ten years. So, in 1869, £2,500 was voted to the City Chamberlain for his successful management of the City accounts. It is hardly necessary to say that the Common Council are overwhelmed with applications for increase of salary. In 1870 the City Remembrancer, whose work was far overpaid at £1,500 a year, wrote to the Common Council for an increase of salary, mournfully adding, "I have not received, directly or indirectly, any emoluments except my salary, *whilst other officers have been more fortunate.*" He has now got his salary increased to £2,000 a year; and so on every hand there is this fighting for the spoil and scheming for fresh assaults on the City exchequer. And in addition to all we find an item in the City expenditure of £20,000 *for pensions.* If to this amount be added the sum of £53,912 for pensions and almshouses under the control of the livery companies,* it will make a total of no less than £73,912 in the hands of the City authorities and guilds, without taking into consideration £10,259 a year mentioned in Mr. Andrew Johnson's Report, April 17th, 1871, on City Parochial Charities.

On one point the Corporation of the City of London assert a claim to a status far superior to all other municipal bodies or vestries engaged in the local administration of the metropolis, and point to the honourable mention made of them by certain portions of the public

* See Parliamentary Report (Lord Robert Montagu), July 15th, 1868. The property of many of these endowments has lately much increased in value.

press, as well as the important duties thrown on them connected with the reception of dignitaries, either British or foreign, and the satisfactory manner they perform these and other important functions, which never fall to the lot of vestries or other bodies under the Local Management Act; in fact, they not only assume to themselves a position far superior to that of the vestries in intelligence and importance, but look upon all other local coporate bodies in London with a sort of dignified patronage, evidently the result of conscientious conviction. But are they really justified in doing so? We have attempted to investigate their right to the intellectual superiority or that of social position they claim, but have been unable to arrive at the same result. Without the slightest intentional disrespect to the aldermen or Corporation, we were unable to discover any of the elements among them which should raise them above the level of the ordinary parish vestry. Among the list of aldermen we find three describing themselves as of no occupation, and six others as merchants and manufacturers; of the rest one was a solicitor, one a tea-dealer, one a druggist, one a hop-merchant, and the remainder were of different trades, generally retail, *but not one among them gave an address as residing within the City.*

The Common Council, which the reader is aware is composed of 206 members, the descriptions given of their occupation was just as varied; and though all were evidently men of undoubted respectability, there was nothing to be found among them to mark them as men

of any superior intelligence to those who ordinarily compose a parish vestry. Among the professional classes, there were two barristers, twenty-one solicitors and accountants, and one actuary. Of auctioneers, there were nine; booksellers and oilmen, eight each; warehousemen, tailors, and drapers, six each; grocers, tea-dealers, and druggists, five each; bakers, brokers, and butchers, four each. The rest were made up of the following trades: merchants, publicans, undertakers, fishmongers, hatters, sugar-merchants, livery-stable keepers, factors, paper-makers, looking-glass makers, &c.

Let us now compare the probable amount of intelligence possessed by an average west-end vestry (assuming respectability of life and integrity to be equal), say either Paddington, Westminster, St. George's, Hanover Square, or Kensington. Let us take, for example, the latter as a fair specimen of the other three. On it we find one baronet, two Queen's counsel, one county court judge, two clergymen, twelve barristers (including a former attorney-general in one of the colonies), eleven solicitors, five officers in the army (including a major-general of engineers, two lieutenant-colonels, and a major), six surgeons and physicians, leading tradesmen, owners of property, and other men of position in the district. In conclusion, these gentlemen perform their duties without the slightest expense to the ratepayers. The committees alone of the Corporation of London expend £4,000 a year for refreshments, &c., only. Mr. Firth ("Municipal London") justly remarks, "It is quite true that social position does not of neces-

sity involve high capacity; but a corporation, and one imposing heavy taxation, ought to be a body representing the various bodies affected by its action, and it is here that we think the Corporation of London is far from occupying its true position."

We find in one of the City Guilds Reform Association's fly-sheets, the following letter by an anonymous writer, said to have been written to Lord Chief Justice Cockburn, when certain honours were proposed to be offered to him by the City and Grocers' Company, and we cannot do better than to terminate our chapter on the Corporation by quoting it:—

"It is announced in the public press that your lordship will to-morrow be presented with the freedom of the City of London. A long and illustrious roll of names upon whom the City has bestowed this gift is thus fitly closed by one not less illustrious than any that have preceded it.

"But, my lord, while the recipients of this honour are, as ever, distinguished in character and career, the honour itself has lessened in value as ages have rolled on, until to-day it scarcely represents a worthy object of human ambition.

"Time was when the freedom of the City of London, presented in its Guildhall by its elected rulers, was an unmistakable proof coming from the whole body of the most important and intelligent community in England. To-day such a presentation has a different significance. The Corporation of the City of London is a narrow and exclusive body of men, who have appropriated to them-

selves power and property which are the heritage of a far wider area—a body of men with whom the inhabitants of the metropolis generally have no sort of interest or sympathy. In the persistent denial to suburban London of municipal rights, the Corporation of the City of London now seeks to strengthen itself with statesmen, politicians, and lawyers of eminence. It is in pursuance of this policy that your lordship is now asked to accept that citizenship and freedom which it is fondly hoped will enlist your powerful advocacy against reform, and most attentively will your utterances be listened to to-morrow by the City Corporation, in order that they may then gather fresh hope to animate them in the war they are now waging against reform.

"A recollection of the part you took in the Municipal Commission of 1837, as well as a consideration of your lordship's eminent and distinguished career, not merely at the bar and on the bench, but in the forum and on the platform, whenever the interests of human freedom or of public liberty were at issue, point to the confident conclusion that herein the Corporation will be disappointed, and to the millions outside the City who are anxious for municipal freedom you will not, towards the close of so noble a life, present the spectacle of a Liberal statesman supporting a policy of reaction."

How far the writer of the above letter and "the millions outside the City anxious for municipal freedom" have reason to be contented with his lordship's civic policy, we will leave the reader to determine.

CHAPTER X.

CITY MEDICAL CHARITIES.

THE reader might reasonably imagine that we must have come to the end of the catalogue of abuses and anomalies to be found among the deeds of the Corporation of the City of London and its livery companies; but that is far from being the case; other, and possibly still worse, remain to be told, especially in the administration of the charities directly or indirectly under their control. Without disputing the amount of good occasionally performed, it is, as a rule, carried out in such an extravagant manner as to render it doubtful whether, on the whole, as much money is not wasted or misapplied as the amount bearing benefit to the recipients, and even that is too frequently expended on individuals who are not in themselves objects of charity, and that, too, in direct antagonism to the trust under which the funds are held. Before, however, going systematically into the question of the abuse of these charities, we will point out some facts tending to prove how unfairly City extravagance, both of the Corporation and the guilds, acts not only with respect

to the poor, but upon tens of thousands of others scarcely above pauperism themselves, and upon the whole metropolitan public as well.

In one of our earlier chapters we pointed out how heavily increased was the taxation imposed upon the industrial classes, from the bare fact of their dwellings in the City having been destroyed, and their tenants driven to suburban localities more or less distant; and we will now investigate what effect civic mismanagement and extravagance has upon the population at large. In doing so, it is more than probable we shall find all grades in society prejudicially affected by it, the injury done, however, proportionate means taken into consideration, being less among the wealthier members of society, and gradually increasing as the individual is the poorer, till it arrives at the working classes, when it is the heaviest of all. Whenever any reformer attempts to lessen City extravagance, or endeavours to secure a just portion of educational endowments for the benefit of the poor and industrial classes, he is habitually met by the argument, "Why should we part with any of our own funds to save the pockets of the ratepayer?" All this is plausible enough as far as the wealthier ratepayers are concerned. If they, with abundance of means to resist injustice, choose to put up with it tamely, that is a subject for their consideration; but with the poor it is very different. They smart most severely under the infliction without the means to prevent it. While the rich and influential can make themselves heard and attended to if they use but a little

energy, the poorer classes are powerless, no matter how keenly they may suffer by the excessive taxation at present placed on them. It is also untrue that the industrial classes as well as the poor do not suffer in like proportion with the rich in any increase in municipal taxation, and that if they have any difficulty in paying their share it arises solely from their improvident habits. We hear it continually said that the working classes have no idea of thrift, no thought of laying by for a rainy day, although when in work they are paid good wages. "Skilled workmen," we are told, "in many of our manufactories are often better paid than clerks of ten years' standing in a government office. Many a mechanic receives a wage that would be equal to the salaries of two curates; yet on the first temporary reverse of fortune which happens to them, either from sickness, slackness of trade, or domestic misfortune, they are obliged to rely either on the charity of others or to apply to the parochial authorities for assistance." Remarks such as these are uttered in great abundance by self-styled political economists, and in an immense number of cases without the slightest basis of truth to be detected in them. A very frequent exception must be made in our first-class mechanics, whose labours require but skill in their handicraft; but with others, whose duties require both skill and high intelligence combined, the statement is, as a rule, utterly untrue. Thriftless they occasionally may be, but a large majority of them have good balances in the savings-bank, while far more subscribe

to trade benefit clubs, it being impossible for them to become members of the City livery companies, whose members have usurped the whole of the funds their craft may have inherited, and who have placed insuperable obstacles in the way of the legitimate craftsmen joining them again.

Again, it should be borne in mind that in the eastern and south-eastern districts of the metropolis, which contain a working population of some eight or nine hundred thousand souls, there are at least two unskilled labourers for every skilled artizan, and that these on an average are paid a far lower rate of wage—scarcely one-half that which is paid to their more skilled fellow-workmen. Again, a vast proportion of the working population of the Tower Hamlets are neither skilled artizans nor unskilled labourers, and there are also an immense number of widows with families, and others who are solely dependent on their own exertions. These last earn on an average a wage compared with which that earned by the dock labourer and along-shore men may be considered extravagant. Respectable adult young women, for example, who work at biscuit packing for 7*s.* a week for twelve hours' labour per diem; makers of glass bugles for ladies' dresses, who earn, like the biscuit packers, when in full work, about 1*s.* a day; makers of boys' caps at 4½*d.* each, finding their own thread; slipper-makers, and a hundred other occupations, the average wage per week not being above 7*s.*, are all ratepayers. The skilled artizan, who pays 6*s.* a week for his rooms, has included in it

at least £5 per annum for rates and taxes, and every poor sempstress inhabiting a top back room in a Peabody model lodging-house has included in her 2*s.* rent per week the sum of £1 4*s.* 2*d.* for municipal taxation.

Let us look at the effect of the taxation at present levied by the School Board alone on these poor people, then take into consideration the amount of waste to be found in the endowed and parochial schools under the direct or indirect control of the City authorities, and afterwards ask ourselves the question whether it is not a duty on our parts to insist on an equitable arrangement of the City educational trusts before any further taxation shall be placed on those the least able to pay the amount to be levied. The late Lord Brougham once remarked that if the medical and educational endowments connected with the City of London were carefully administered, they would, he thought, be found sufficient for the care of the sick and the education of the poor of the whole metropolis. Possibly, from the examples we have given of the abuse of the City educational trusts, the reader may be apt to imagine that his lordship could not have spoken without good data to go upon; but our list, as we said before, of the abuses to be found in the City endowed schools is very far indeed from being complete, and if the reader will give us his attention we shall be able to show, in the words of Milton, that "in the lowest depth there is a lower deep," and that, iniquitous as have been many of the cases we have quoted, still stronger are to follow. Before, however, fairly

taking up the educational question, we will detain the reader for a short time with a description of the City medical endowments, which, together with the Blue-coat School and Bridewell Hospital, are known as the royal hospitals—charitable trusts possessing enormous wealth, but so extravagantly mismanaged, that one-half the benefits which might be derived from them are lost.

It may be argued that the three great City medical endowments, St. Bartholomew's and St. Thomas's for general medical and surgical cases, and Bethlem for the insane, are special endowments instituted for particular purposes, totally irrespective of civic supervision or control. We will therefore endeavour, by some short extracts from the "Memoranda, References, and Documents relating to the Royal Hospitals of the City of London," collected and prepared in the year 1836 by order of the Common Council, to correct that error. The oldest of these institutions is indisputably St. Bartholomew's, which was established as early as 1133 by Raherus, the jester or minstrel of Henry I., who "built on the west suburb of London, called Smithfield, an hospital for a master, brethren, and sisters, and for poor diseased persons *till they got* well, for women with child until delivered, and for the maintenance of their children born there until seven years of age, if their mothers died in the hospital;" and, with slight variations, the hospital was continued under the same rules till the dissolution of the religious houses in the reign of Henry VIII. St. Thomas's Hospital was founded a century later by

Richard, Prior of Bermondsey, as a house of alms for converts and poor children. Bethlem, or the hospital of St. Mary, was founded by Simon Fitz Mary, 1247, for distracted persons. At the dissolution of the religious houses the whole of the inmates of these three hospitals were turned into the streets, and private or municipal charity being insufficient to provide for them, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty petitioned his Majesty King Henry VIII., in the thirtieth year of his reign, to grant, among other things, the three hospitals named *to the City*, for the purpose of relieving the sufferings of the sick and wounded, and of shelter and protection of the insane. The words of the petition itself were so clear and graphic that we produce an extract from it in all its quaint orthography. It says, in explanation of their prayer, that it was—

"For the ayde and comforte of the poore sykke, blynde, aged, and impotent persones beyinge not hable to helpe theymselffs, not havynge any place certeyn wheryn they may be lodged, cherrysshed, and refresshed tyll they be cured and holpen of their dyseases and syknesse. For the ayde of the sayd poore people we enforme your Grace that there be nere and withyn the cytye of *London* three hospytalls or spytells commonly called Saynt Mary Bethlem Spytell, Saynt Bartholomew Spytell, and Saynt Thomas Spytell founded of good devocion by auncyent fathers and endowed with great possessions and rents only for the relyeff, comforte, and ayde of the poore and indigent people not beynge hable to helpe themselves, and not to the mayntenance of

priests, canons, and monks carnally lyvyng as they have of late done, nothing regardyng the myserable people lyenge in the streetes, offending every clene person passyng by the way with their fylthye and nasty savours. Wherefore it may please your mercyfull goodnesse, ever enclyned to pytie and compassyon for the relyef of Cristes very images, creatyed in hys owne symlytude, to order and establyshe by graunte or otherwyse, by your most virtuous and sage discretion, That the *Mayor and his Brethren* of your Cytye of London, or with such other as shall stande wyth your most gratyous favour, shall and may from henceforthe have the order, rule, dyspocion, and govournance of the sayd hospytalls with the rents appertaynyng to the same, so that the sick, needy, and indygent persons shall be refreshed, mayntayned and comforted, fownde, heled and cured of theyre infyrmyties frankly and freely, by phisycions, surgeons, and appotecarys, whiche shall have *salary, stypend,* and *wages* only to attend for that intent and purpose."

The prayer of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the City of London was granted by the King, nor has there been any very great alteration since; for, although others have also a voice in the management, the Corporation, being in the majority, are still all-powerful should they be pleased to exercise their full rights over the three hospitals.

The consent of the King was followed by an act passed by the Common Council that four aldermen and eight of the common council should always and from

henceforth have the survey, rule, order, and government of St. Bartholomew's Hospital; and in the year 1552 the citizens of London having purchased the void, suppressed hospital of St. Thomas, began in the month of July the reparations thereof for poor impotent, lame, and diseased people, and the Court of Aldermen appointed three aldermen and three of the common council to survey and govern it. The following entry in the City records will tend to show how completely these hospitals were under the control and in the power of the Corporation. It is dated December 8th, 1691, 3 William and Mary: "A petition was received from John Brown, late senior surgeon of Saint Thomas Hospital, and was read in the Court of Aldermen, setting forth that some time since, upon false suggestions, and without any just and reasonable cause, he was wrongfully removed from his employment, and therefore praying to be relieved by the Court. The Court referred the petition to the president, treasurer, and governors of that hospital to consider the petition, and lay before the Court of Aldermen their reasons for having removed the said Brown from his employment." On another occasion, April 13th, 1703, the City, represented by the Court of Aldermen, went so far as to remove from their appointments the senior physician and senior surgeon, Dr. Forless and Mr. Thomas Elton.

It would occupy too much space to go at any further length into the history of St. Bartholomew's and St. Thomas's Hospitals; suffice to say, that in the City records there are abundant entries tending to prove

that they were instituted as the pauper sick asylums and general hospitals of the City of London, that they were under the control of the Lord Mayor and Corporation, and that on several occasions, when their endowments and voluntary contributions were not sufficient for their maintenance, the Common Council levied by direct taxation the amount necessary to keep them in efficient working order.

It must not, however, be imagined that the complex system of government of these hospitals adopted by the City authorities worked altogether satisfactorily; indeed disputes and differences between the governors appointed by the Corporation and the Court of Aldermen and other authorities were of very frequent occurrence. Till as late as the year 1782 St. Bartholomew's Hospital, though under the absolute control of the City authorities, was independent of the managing staff of the other royal hospitals; and St. Thomas's, on more than one occasion, attempted to obtain an exemption from the supervision of the civic authorities, with the exception of those directly appointed to their own establishment. To remedy the differences of opinion which so frequently arose respecting the management of the royal hospitals, an Act of Parliament was passed (22 George III.). It recites that: "Whereas divers disputes and differences have arisen between the Mayor and Commonalty and Citizens of the City of London, *governors* of the possessions, revenues, and goods of the Hospitals of Edward King of England the Sixth, of Christ, Bridewell, and Saint Thomas the Apostle, and of Henry

the Eighth, King of England, called 'The House of the Poor' (Saint Bartholomew's), in West Smithfield, and the House and Hospital called Bethlem, and the presidents, treasurers, and acting governors of the same, touching their respective powers and privileges, in the ordinary management, government, and disposition of the said hospitals, and estates, possessions, and revenues thereof. And whereas several persons deputed by the said Mayor and Commonalty and Citizens of the City of London have had several meetings with persons deputed by the said presidents, treasurers, and acting governors for the purpose of terminating the said matters in dispute between them . . . . . and the said treasurers and acting governors have respectively entered into an agreement in the words or to the purport following (that is to say)."

The Act of Parliament, after considerable preliminary matter not touching the right of the City to the control of the royal hospitals, goes on to say: "And whereas disputes have arisen between the said Mayor and Commonalty and Citizens and the persons acting as governors of the said hospitals, and the estates, possessions, and revenues thereof, touching their respective rights, powers, and privileges in the ordering, management, and governing of the said hospitals, it is believed to be for the mutual benefit of the said Mayor, Commonalty, and Citizens, and of the said hospitals, that all such disputes should cease, and that the actual ordering, management, and government of the said hospitals respectively *shall for ever hereafter be continued in the*

Mayor and Aldermen of the said City, together with the persons now acting as governors or hereafter to be elected as such in the usual mode of election of governors of the said respective hospitals, and such of the commoners of the said City as shall be elected in the manner hereafter named." The Act further ordains "that the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen and the members of the Court of Common Council, and other governors duty elected, shall have *good right, full power, and absolute authority* from time to time, and at all times hereafter, to nominate, elect, and appoint the presidents, treasurers, *and all other officers and ministers* of and for the said hospitals respectively, and *to do every other act, matter, and thing necessary or expedient to be done for the good government of the same several hospitals.*"

The Act further ordains that twelve persons, being members of the Common Council, be sent to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and twelve others to St. Thomas's, "to be governors thereof respectively." Since the passing of that Act of Parliament, which is still in force, some modifications in the management were agreed to by Lord Eldon as far as concerns St. Thomas's, but not in any way abrogating the powers of the Lord Mayor and Common Council of the City of London; and such being the case, we would submit to the reader whether the two hospitals, St. Bartholomew's and St. Thomas's, are not City hospitals, and whether they are not answerable for any extravagance and mismanagement connected with the administration of their affairs?

Let us first turn to the case of St. Thomas's Hospital.

It is but justice to the Corporation to admit that if its management were unsatisfactory while under their rule, it by no means improved under the arrangements suggested by Lord Eldon in 1809. The Corporation, though still holding almost plenary powers over its administration, appear to have taken the altered state of things in high dudgeon, and abstained to a great extent from using a proper influence over its control, and the result was that gradually the charity began to lose much of its original character. It was no longer one of the pauper sick asylums, to which all sick persons brought under the notice of the Bridewell authorities or found destitute in the streets were sent to be cured. It became actually, with its then neighbour, Guy's, a first-class medical school, the interests of which were quite as much, if not more, cared for than the uses of the hospital itself. That patients were most skilfully treated there can be no doubt, and in that respect those admitted lost nothing from the comparative lack of supervision bestowed on them by the Corporation; at the same time many patients were refused admission who were entitled to it under the charter of the hospital, for no better reason than that their diseases were aggravated, if not caused, *by want*—they being thus precisely, in fact, those for whom the charity was originally instituted.

But if the patients admitted were not altogether those for whom the hospital was originally intended, those who did receive relief within its walls were attended to with skill and consideration, the interests

of the medical school being still dominant in the minds of the professional staff. At length the "good-will" or reputation of the school became in itself a valuable property. As time passed on, however, gross abuses were developed in the school; the professorships and medical appointments, with the benefits accruing from them, fell into the hands of a clique of medical men who used their powers far less for the advance of science than for the benefit of their own particular relations and friends, and not unfrequently made their patronage a source of considerable emolument in pushing forward the candidates they proposed, without sufficient consideration for the interests of the patients, as well as an impediment to the advance of medical science. Nothing was more common than to find a gentleman who had been educated at the school, and was known to be of great ability, after waiting years in the hope of being admitted as one of the hospital staff on the occasion of the first vacancy, quietly set aside to make room for some other, whose sole recommendation was that he was a *protégé* of Astley Cooper or some other professional star in vogue at the time. At length these evils arose to such a height that public opinion was called to them; but so resolute were the professors of the school in maintaining their right to conduct matters as they pleased and without interference, and so apathetic were the real governing body of the hospital—the Mayor and Corporation—to the grievances complained of, that little or no reformation was effected. At last a gross case of

abuse of power on the part of the staff of surgeons and physicians and medical school fortunately raised the ire of two gentlemen well acquainted with the subject, the late Mr. Wakley, M.P., and Mr. Lambert, a surgeon, who determined at all hazards to effect some reformation in the system then in vogue; and having, principally for that purpose, started the well-known publication, the *Lancet*, they made a resolute attack on the abuses existing in St. Thomas's and Guy's Hospitals, partly for the benefit of the patients, and partly by way of opening a career for medical men of talent, though without patronage, who at the time stood not the slightest chance of advancement when opposed by those who possessed the influence of the medical staff of the hospitals.

That Mr. Wakley and the *Lancet* did an immense amount of good, not only to the sick poor and the medical profession, but to the public at large, by vigorous attacks on the Borough hospitals, is too well known to require us to say more on the subject. If Mr. Wakley did not succeed in accomplishing all he desired, he at least effected so large a measure of reform that there was left comparatively little cause for censure apart from the difficulty still experienced, though to a less degree, of men of great ability educated in the hospital, though without patronage, becoming members of the medical staff—a difficulty which will doubtless always exist till those valuable appointments, as in Paris and other Continental cities, shall be thrown open either to public competition or some other system

by which the most worthy, instead of those possessed of the greatest private interest, shall be selected for appointments of the kind. At length a circumstance occurred which caused a great revolution in the affairs of the hospital, and which, if not intended to interfere with the comfort and well-being of the patients, was contemplated to advance greatly the interest of the medical staff, and especially the advancement of the medical school.

As the reader is aware, St. Thomas's Hospital remained on its original site in the Borough till it was purchased some few years since, at a heavy cost, by the Charing Cross Railway Company. The sale having been completed, and the patients removed to a temporary hospital provisionally erected in the grounds of the Surrey Zoological Gardens, a site had to be found for the new hospital. A strong difference of opinion appears for some time to have existed among the authorities. Some of the trustees argued that as St. Thomas's Hospital was to all intents and purposes a City charity, it ought to be erected as nearly as possible to some part of the metropolis where the working classes, employed by City firms, either directly or indirectly, were densest and accidents most common; nay, more, it was the inheritance of the City poor, and that they ought not to be deprived of the benefits to be obtained from it. The medical staff and school professors, however, proposed that it should be removed to some convenient locality in the neighbourhood of the West-end of the metropolis. But to this proposition

great opposition was offered, not only by outsiders, but, *mirabile dictu*, by the City authorities themselves, who, indignant at the injustice which would be done to the densely crowded poor in the eastern districts, were sufficiently aroused from their ordinary torpor to raise their voices against the plan proposed being carried into execution. They argued that the West-end of the metropolis was far better supplied with hospital accommodation than the East; that already there were the Westminster, the Charing Cross, Middlesex, St. George's, St Mary's, King's College, and the West London general hospitals, besides a vast number of hospitals for special cases, such as the Cancer, Consumption, Orthopedic, Paralysis and Epilepsy, and Children's, and a score of other similar establishments; and that the presence of another large hospital at the West-end was hardly needed. They further urged that if St. Thomas's Hospital were removed further westward, the enormous population of the Borough, Walworth, Bermondsey, and the other districts stretching eastward, would be left with only one general hospital (Guy's), which was totally insufficient for the poor inhabiting them, without taking into consideration the districts of Woolwich, Greenwich, Deptford, and Rotherhithe, and other localities, who were in the habit of sending a large proportion of their serious cases to St. Thomas's and Guy's Hospitals. They further stated that before St. Thomas's Hospital was removed, both that and Guy's were full to overflowing, and that to remove one to the West-end of London, as was proposed by the medical staff and others,

would be to deprive a large proportion of the population of the metropolis of advantages they had hitherto received. They showed how scant was hospital accommodation in the south-eastern district of the metropolis by bringing forward the fact that the poor girl who was found nearly murdered in a lane near Eltham, and whose case caused so much sensation in the public mind a few years since, had, when at the point of death, to be carried, sitting erect beside a policeman in a street cab, nearly ten miles through the crowded south-eastern districts before she could reach Guy's Hospital. Again, it was urged that in the north-eastern districts of the metropolis, with a population exceeding 600,000 souls, there was not one general hospital with the exception of that known as the German Hospital at Dalston; and as an immense majority of that population was composed of the working classes dependent on labour provided for them by City firms, a hospital of distinctly City origin would be better placed among them than at the West-end, where there was sufficient accommodation of the kind provided already.

On the other hand, however, the trustees, evidently actuated by the advice of the medical professors, were still of the opinion that the hospital should be removed westward; their opponents, including the City authorities, offered no further opposition, and a site was selected opposite the Houses of Parliament, notwithstanding the fact that close on the other side of the river was another (the Westminster) of honourable notoriety, fully capable of affording first-class medical relief to the neighbour-

hood, and the more so from the fact, that by the enormous destruction of the dwellings of the working classes for the Westminster improvements, no fewer than 35,000 of the poor had been driven from their homes to find shelter in other localities. It would be difficult to discover any plausible reason for the trustees and governors of St. Thomas's Hospital for selecting the site they did for their new building. The strongest argument which appears to have been made use of in favour of the removal to its present position was, that the physicians and surgeons attached to St. Thomas's Hospital were among the most expert and learned in the metropolis, and that as with many of them minutes were as guineas, it was not to be supposed they could, as a rule, visit the districts still farther east and north-east, where a vast majority of the poor reside, great as their charity and humanity might be. It would, it was said, be casting too heavy a burden on their philanthropy, utterly ignoring the fact that the hospital was endowed and supported for the benefit of the working classes of the City, and not to such an extent for the convenience of the medical staff. Again, another objection might be urged to the, at first sight, plausible excuse of the convenience of the medical officers and professors of the school of medicine attached to the hospital, that it would deprive the poor of the benefits of their extraordinary skill and scientific knowledge. Without in any manner whatever attempting to dispute the admirable skill and humanity of the medical officers attached to St. Thomas's Hospital, we have not the slightest hesitation in stating

that the whole ability of the medical profession in London is not confined to the staff of two or three of our larger hospitals, and there is as much skill, earnestness, and philanthropy to be found among others of the profession in London, whose names are seldom or never heard of beyond the poor parishes in which they reside, and whose only impediment in the road to fame and fortune is, that the class of their private patients is not so aristocratic as that under the care of the doctors of some of our larger hospitals. Had the new St. Thomas's Hospital been built in the neighbourhood of Walworth, Bermondsey, Haggerstone, or Shoreditch, and the present medical staff found it inconvenient or impossible to attend their patients at so great a distance from their homes, it is more than possible that medical men of as much skill, if not as much eminence, might have been found in the immediate vicinity—that is to say, if the success attending their cases might be considered as the test of their ability. As we shall have occasion to speak again on the prejudicial effect of this "hero worship" offered to certain celebrities in the medical profession, not only on its members at large but the poor as well, we will at present quit the subject, and turn again to St. Thomas's Hospital.

The site having been determined on, it was purchased of the Metropolitan Board of Works for the sum of £95,000, to which £5,000 was afterwards added for the roadway. Some have severely criticized the Metropolitan Board of Works for disposing of so valuable a spot of ground for so small a sum; while others considered that they

were perfectly justified in so doing, inasmuch as it would hardly have been commendable in the Board to have driven too hard a bargain with so excellent a charity. The site having been purchased, the plans for the building had to be determined on. Much study and thought were bestowed upon it, and the most eminent authorities on sanitary subjects were called in to decide how the new hospital might be made a model for all contemplated erections of the kind to follow. Not a scientific suggestion by any eminent sanitary authority, and possibly no medical theory on the part of any medical authority, which was not carried out to the letter, and that, as the hospital balance-sheet will prove, without taking much, if any, consideration as to its cost. But a question has since arisen in the minds of many, whether the enormous sum expended in the erection of the new hospital might not have been applied with greater advantage both to the sick poor and the benefit of the public at large. Already we have stated that the site and roadway cost £100,000, and the building, by the original contract, £330,000 more. Even if the latter sum was not exceeded, which we are informed it was to a considerable extent, the hospital when finished, including furniture, &c., certainly did not cost less than half a million of money. Many, however, who profess to be well acquainted with the subject, say that it far exceeded that amount. When fully completed the hospital was opened in state by her Majesty, but before patients were admitted the public were for some time invited to inspect it, especially

members of the medical profession and students, that they might thereby obtain a perfect knowledge of the best and most complete method, in respect to sanitary arrangements in particular, on which sick asylums ought to be erected.

The hospital at last was opened for patients, but from the expenditure incurred on the building the funds at the time were not more than sufficient for the maintenance of 400 patients, the number it was intended to accommodate being 600. But admitting the hospital at present to contain its full number of patients (600), let us see what each costs this City charity for the poor and destitute sick for house-rent alone. The sum of half a million divided among them will give an average of some £833 per bed. That the reader may form some idea what this sum really represents, we will offer him the following comparison. Were it possible, it would be more advantageous to the patients in a hospital that each had a separate room; but as this would be far too costly a plan in a public charity, wards containing a greater or smaller number of beds are, for the purpose of economy, used instead. Perhaps the better way to arrive at a just conclusion would be to estimate the cost of the space for each bed to be equal to that of an average bedroom in a good dwelling-house, and the reader, even at the low estimate of £833 per bedroom, will then see what class of houses might be built for the money. Let us take, for example, a first-class Belgrave Square mansion, containing twenty bedrooms, and the whole fitted up in the most perfect

manner. We were informed by two eminent West-end builders that the erection of such a mansion would cost, perhaps, with the ground it stands on, some £12,000 or £13,000—certainly not more. Assume, then, that each of the bedrooms in a given number of houses is allotted to a patient of St. Thomas's Hospital, and it will be found that his or her cost for house-rent would be, on an average, one-third less than at present. Should the funds of the hospital, however, not be able to accommodate more than the 400 patients at present in the hospital, their cost for house-rent would be in the Belgrave Square mansion only one-half what it now is.

But it may be said that in estimating the cost of St. Thomas's Hospital at £833 per bed, and then comparing the cost with that of a Belgrave Square mansion, we have not taken into consideration that the new building contains vast accommodation for out-patients, officers, officers' dwellings, medical schools, &c. Admitting this to be true, we may state, on the other hand, that in taking the cost of the mansion at so much per bedroom, we have also taken into consideration the other portions of the establishment, such as dining and drawing rooms, library, breakfast-rooms, and the cost of the vast and complicated basements, with all the expensive fittings, fixtures, and joiners' work, with the square and gardens in front for the exercise and amusement of the patients; therefore the comparison must be admitted not to be an invidious one.

There was one item, however, in the cost of St. Thomas's Hospital which is far greater than the cost incurred in a Belgrave Square mansion—the cement on the walls. This in the hospital is of Parian cement, the price of which is at least double per square yard to the cement or plaster of the walls of any first-class private dwelling in London. The medical officers considered it necessary for the welfare of the patients, and the managers very properly agreed to the expenditure. Another serious item in the cost of the hospital is the medical school buildings. On these, we are told, has been expended at least £35,000, without taking into consideration the value of the land. The Lord Chancellor, however, it is said, was appealed to on the subject, and sanctioned this expenditure, and the wisdom and justice of a decision of the Court of Chancery of course cannot be doubted. His lordship appears to have considered, if our authority is correct, that the medical school was the property of the professors (although not a word on the subject is to be found in any of the hospital charters), and that they had a right to buildings proportionate to the expenditure incurred in the erection of the hospital. Now the sum quoted (£30,000) does not include the cost of the site, which has been shown to be about twenty-five per cent. of the cost of the whole school building. This will raise, even at the most moderate calculation, the gross cost of the schools to £35,000 or £40,000. It has been proved that if the school buildings had been erected for the accommodation of the same number as are at present attached to the hospital

at the same proportionate cost of the medical schools of St. George's, Westminster, and Charing Cross Hospitals, the new building at St. Thomas's might have been erected at a cost of some £5,000 or £6,000. This would have left a balance from the gross sums expended to have built economically a workhouse infirmary of some 150 to 200 beds.

But the advocates of the enormous expenditure proposed to be lavished on St. Thomas's Hospital argued that the immense advantages which would accrue from it, as a perfect model of sanitary science and skill, would be more than commensurate for its cost, especially as the works would be superintended by the most eminent medical professors. Judging, however, from the results, some of the most cheaply erected hospitals in the metropolis would upon sanitary grounds compare very favourably with it. Take, for example, the hospitals of the Scotch Fusilier Guards or Grenadier Guards, which did not cost more than £80 per bed, including the value of the ground, instead of £833. But possibly a still more striking comparison may be drawn by contrasting the cost and effects of St. Thomas's with that of the, unfortunately, little known Poplar Hospital. The loud boasting as to the excellent sanitary advantages derived from the eminent scientific gentlemen who were consulted on the erection of St. Thomas's Hospital gradually ceased a year or so after it opened, and a most suspicious silence supplied its place. Of the cause on our own authority we are unable to speak with any certainty; but from the

hospital report* it would appear that in 1875 those two strong proofs of defective sanitary condition in a hospital, erysipelas and pyæmia, were developed in the wards to an alarming degree, there having been no fewer than fifty-one cases of the former, of which thirteen proved fatal; of the latter sixteen, *all* fatal. Singular to say, no public notice has been taken of this terrible calamity, and the Local Government Board, which ought to have interested themselves in the matter, seemed to have passed it over with perfect indifference. Twenty-nine cases had certainly proved fatal, without taking into consideration the remainder, many of whom through life might carry with them the seeds of the disease. But then they were in a celebrated hospital, erected as a model to all others, and "surrounded by all the requirements of science," and what could they have more? One thing more might be added, and which is perfectly true—that not the slightest blame, either directly or indirectly, could be thrown on the medical staff for this unfortunate state of affairs; on the contrary, every kindness and attention were lavished on the unfortunate patients; their deaths were to be attributed solely to *defective sanitary arrangements*, and no other cause. The reader may possibly remember the case of an epidemic breaking out in a large charity school at Wandsworth some two years since, when three girls out of a total of 300 died from fever. Public attention was called to the subject, and a rigorous search was very properly made to discover the cause

* Quoted from the *Medical Times and Gazette.*

of the outbreak, and energetic measures were taken to prevent a repetition—the Government authorities themselves taking, as they ought to have done, an active part in the matter. But we put it to the reader whether in a hospital containing 400 patients, no fewer than twenty-nine died from defective sanitary conditions, it ought not to have interested the Government and the public press more than it did, as well as whether the hospital itself ought not to have been closed till the cause of so terrible a misfortune had been discovered, and, if possible, rectified?

Let us now turn to Poplar Hospital, one of the poorest, and certainly one of the most useful, hospitals in London, and managed with an amount of skill and devotion to the interests of the patients second to none, even the richest, in the metropolis. Perhaps we may be accused of presumption in deciding or even speaking on the subject of "skill," as being a point far above our capacity to decide upon; and in proof it may be urged that the professors of St. Thomas's, St. Bartholomew's, and other great hospitals are men of eminence, whereas the working medical staff of the Poplar Hospital are men not known beyond the locality they inhabit, more than one among them having been known to keep open dispensaries. Perhaps, we repeat, we may be accused of presumption in passing an opinion on so abstruse a subject; but as there may be one mitigating circumstance in our case, we may as well offer it to the reader before we go any further. We admit that our opinions on the matter are based upon an old-

fashioned theory held by certain scientific stars in the medical profession in but little estimation, that is, "judging of the tree by its fruits," and that, too, on subjects connected with the medical profession as well as other things. Should it chance that the reader may be of our opinion, he possibly, after having read the following few facts and figures, will admit that in our comparison between the Poplar Hospital and St. Thomas's (that civic sick asylum) we are not altogether wrong in the conclusion we have arrived at.

For many years the only hospital in the eastern portion of the metropolis was the London. This, as the reader is doubtless aware, is an institution in high repute, and with a medical staff inferior to no hospital in England. But from the position of this hospital great inconvenience was felt and danger incurred in carrying patients who had met with serious accidents when working in the East and West India Docks, which was still further aggravated when the Victoria Docks were opened, as well as the many large factories and ship-building establishments in the neighbourhood. To remedy this unfortunate state of things, several shipbuilders and owners, as well as gentlemen connected with the docks, with Messrs. Green, Wigram, and Ravenhill at their head, resolved, if possible, to start a hospital somewhere in the neighbourhood of Poplar. The scheme was opposed on the plea that medical men and surgeons of eminence could not be found who would superintend and care for the patients at so great a distance from their private practice, and therefore

the whole scheme would turn out a failure. But the gentlemen who started the idea were men of a practical turn of mind, and did not admit the objection. Their reasons were simple in the extreme, and the result has not only proved that they were correct, but has strengthened us in our conclusion that the whole medical science of the metropolis is not solely confined to those who attend the rich and aristocratic, but that there is as much skill to be found among our general practitioners and parish surgeons as among the physicians and surgeons of the highest estimation. To the objections raised against opening a hospital in the district, that the medical men residing near the locality were merely general practitioners, and therefore incapable of attending to the serious accidents which would be brought under their notice, Messrs. Green and friends argued that many of them—possibly the majority—had formerly served as surgeons in the merchant service, and that if they were capable of attending scientifically to serious accidents which occurred at sea, they would be equally competent to treat the same class of cases on land. They were, moreover, supported in their decision by Government, which made over to them the old Blackwall custom-house for a hospital—a building, according to modern views, utterly unadapted for the purpose. Subscriptions were now raised, some beds and apparatus purchased, some general practitioners in the neighbourhood who had served at sea were appointed as surgeons, and the hospital was opened.

And what has been the result? This hospital, small

as it is, containing only, if as much, a tenth part of the number of patients in St. Thomas's Hospital, in an edifice so inexpensive that, even at the present high price of materials and labour, it would probably have cost not more than £45 per bed instead of £833 as in St. Thomas's. No sanitary authority of eminence was called in to advise upon what improvements and alterations should be made consistent with the advance of modern science, the managers contenting themselves with great cleanliness and good ventilation, yet it receives a greater number of serious accidents than any three—including St. Thomas's and St. Bartholomew's—of the West-end hospitals put together, and the success attending their operations and cures is fully as satisfactory as in any other hospital in the metropolis, no matter how eminent its medical staff may be. From the Poplar Hospital Report of 1872 (the latest we have seen, though we are informed those published since exhibit a still more flattering state of affairs), there were received 262 in-patients, and treated 2,512 out-patients —all surgical cases. Of operations and amputations of different descriptions, including those of the thumb and finger, they had no fewer than fifty-two, seven cases of ligature of the principal arteries, more than a thousand wounds and lacerations, nearly eight hundred contusions, twelve fractures of the skull, six of which were compound, fifty-one other fractures, nine of which were of the humerus, twenty-four of the fore arm, twelve of the thigh bone, two of them compound. And yet, notwithstanding this large number of surgical

cases, comprising more wounded than occurs in many battle-fields, during the whole year there were only fourteen deaths, less than one-half the number that occurred in St. Thomas's Hospital from defective sanitary arrangements alone. Of the deaths which occurred in the Poplar Hospital, five died from the serious nature of their wounds a few hours after admission, and eight before the close of the following day. Nor is this result the only gratifying feature we have to mention respecting the administration of the Poplar Hospital. Objectionable as it may appear in the eyes of the designers, advisers, and architects, and especially the eminent sanitary authorities of St. Thomas's Hospital, *not one death* was occasioned during the whole year by *pyæmia or erysipelas*—a fact possibly unequalled (surpassed it could not have been) by any hospital in the metropolis.

Before quitting the subject of the Poplar Hospital we may add, to the disgrace of the Lord Mayor and Corporation, that although the patients admitted are principally those who contribute in a great degree to the wealth of the City—seamen in the merchant service—it is the worst supported in the metropolis. It may be urged that, as a body, the civic authorities are not called upon, in their corporate capacity, to take under their consideration an institution so far removed from the City itself. But they should also bear in mind that the two great hospitals of St. Thomas's and St. Bartholomew's are still to a great extent under the authority of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, that they

are enormously rich, that their uses were not intended for the poor of the City alone, but "the suburbs thereof," and, as we shall show in the next chapter, the waste of funds in their administration would go far beyond the maintenance of the Poplar surgical hospital even if it were three times its present size, and its sister surgical hospital, the *Dreadnought*, as well. They are surely bound in common humanity, if not common honesty, to exert themselves in the matter. As it is, the subscriptions given by the merchants and capitalists of the City—and that the richest and most commercial city in the world—form a singular contrast between the charitable feelings of our wealthier classes for misfortunes of the kind and that of the poorer. On looking over the subscription list some two years since, we found that the working men in the principal shipbuilding yards in the neighbourhood subscribed a larger sum for the maintenance of the hospital than all Lombard Street and the Royal Exchange put together.

It must not for a moment be imagined that, notwithstanding the advantage which might be gained from far greater economy in hospital building than that shown in St. Thomas's Hospital, we would advise a forced economy from want of means similar to that to be found in the structure of the Poplar Hospital. Without hesitation we admit it to be unfit for the uses of a general hospital—such a one, in fact, as would be sufficiently large for the immense population gathered around it. Moreover, the accommodation for the resident medical officers is far worse than ought to be pro-

vided for gentlemen of so much skill and humanity, if not of *popular* eminence, attached to it. At the same time, if instead of £833 per bed, as at St. Thomas's Hospital, one for £70 per bed were erected—such, in fact, as the infirmary lately built in Kensington—and made to accommodate 400 patients—the number at present to be found in St. Thomas's—it would hardly be sufficient for the wants of the immense industrial population employed near it.

CHAPTER XI.

CITY MEDICAL CHARITIES (*continued*).

IF there may remain any doubt in the mind of the reader whether, by the ruling of Lord Eldon in 1809, St. Thomas's Hospital was not under the absolute control of the civic authorities, according to its original charter, that can hardly be the case with the other City hospital, or "House of the Poor" as it was called, even till the commencement of the present century, St. Bartholomew's. A proof of the intention of its institution may be found in its original charter of 36 Henry VIII. The letters patent,* after stating that although the monastery of St. Bartholomew had been dissolved, yet for the future the charitable uses for which it was founded should be continued, the King "desiring nothing more than that the true works of charity and piety should not be abolished there, but rather fully restored and renewed according to the primitive pattern of their general sincerity, and the abuses of the foundation of the same hospital on lapse of time lamentably occurring, being reformed, have

* Translation of letters patent, June 23rd, 1544.

endeavoured, as far as human infirmity will permit, that henceforth there be comfort for the prisoner, shelter to the poor, visitation of the sick, food for the hungry, drink for the thirsty, clothes to the naked, and sepulture to the dead, administered there, and that other works of piety be performed there to the glory of Almighty God, and to the common utility and happiness of our subjects."

By this it will doubtless appear to the reader that the original establishment of St. Bartholomew's Hospital was simply and purely that of a parish workhouse under the Local Government Board in the present day. If further proof were needed to establish the parochial or pauper character of St. Bartholomew's for the reception of the metropolitan poor, it may be found in the deed of covenant between King Henry VIII. and the Mayor, Commonalty, and Citizens of London (under whose management the institution was placed) respecting the hospitals, dated 27th of December, 1546, in which it is related that "our Sovereign Lord the King is pleased and contented that the said hospital of Saint Bartholomew's shall from henceforth be a place and house for the relief and sustentation of poor people, and shall be called the 'House of the Poore,' in West Smithfield, in the suburbs of the City of London, of King Henry the Eighth's foundation."

But while the hospital was at first used as the City workhouse, one of its principal uses was that of a hospital in the present acceptation and meaning of the

word, for we find it stipulated in the same letter patent that "the said Lord Mayor, Commonalty, and Citizens, and their successors, shall find perpetually one person sufficiently learned in the science of physic, and one other person having sufficient knowledge in surgery, to be continually attendant on the sick and sore poor people at the said hospital, hereafter to be called 'the House of the Poore,' and to minister to them from time to time such things as shall be needful and necessary for their sicknesses and diseases; and that the said Mayor and Commonalty and Citizens of London, and their successors, shall give and pay to the same physician yearly the sum of £20, and to the same surgeon yearly the sum of £20, and that the said Mayor, Commonalty, and Citizens of London; and their successors, at their proper costs and charges, from time to time shall buy and provide all manner of poticary ware and other things most necessary and convenient for the making of salves; and all other things touching physic and surgery, for the help and healing of the said poor sick people."

It would occupy too much space to go at any length into the history of St. Bartholomew's Hospital. By degrees it began to lose more and more of its attributes as a parish workhouse in the strict meaning of the term, and in equal ratio its uses as the pauper sick asylum of the metropolis. It still remained under the absolute control and government of the civic authorities, but although occasionally different rules have been made for its management, in no case whatever

has it been removed from their jurisdiction. Nay, more, they were empowered by an Act, 5 Philip and Mary, which on several occasions was put in force, for granting the profits of sundry offices, &c., for the use of the hospitals, especially duties on "the balance commonly called the King's Beame, the gawginge of wyne and fyshe, and the measurynge or measures of silk and woollen clothes, &c., commonly called Blackwell Hall." Nor are we aware of any Act of Parliament repealing that power of taxing the citizens of London for the maintenance of St. Bartholomew's Hospital should the state of its funds require it. St. Bartholomew's was, in fact, the first hospital supported, beyond its endowment, by a tax levied on the citizens; and one curious circumstance connected with raising money by means of taxation for the support of this charity was, that the livery companies were called upon to supply a large portion of the amount required. For example, in the year 1548 an act was passed by the Common Council for assessing the City companies in the sum of 500 marks, to be paid annually to St. Bartholomew's Hospital. It is perfectly true that after continuing their payments, together with the City, for a century and a half, they attempted to avoid the responsibility, and for more than fifty years the contribution of 500 marks annually remained unpaid. At length the governors of the hospital took proceedings in Chancery, not only for the continuance of the tax, but for the arrears as well, which they gained; and the Court of Common Council, 12th of November, 1712,

ordered the payment of £3,214 4*s.* 9*d.* and the costs of suit, "decreed by the Court of Chancery to be paid to the said hospital by the Mayor and Commonalty and Citizens of the City of London, and of the yearly sum of £100 to the said hospital for ever." Whether the livery companies continued their quota it would be difficult to say. If they did, it would be one of the few instances on record during the last century and a half in which they have not succeeded in relieving themselves from every duty consistent with their citizenship.

If the objectionable features we noticed in our description of St. Thomas's Hospital during the first thirty years of the present century were not to be found in St. Bartholomew's, at the same time they did exist in a smaller degree. True, no jobbery equal to that practised by Astley Cooper, and which required all the energy of the *Lancet* to modify, though not entirely to suppress, can be quoted; still the appointments to the hospital staff were made far less as a rule with respect to the skill and learning of the applicant than the influence certain medical men had with the governing body. One surgeon of eminence, apart from the students in the school, was in the habit of taking private pupils, who paid him sums varying from £500 to £1,000; not that the scientific education he was capable of imparting was in any manner superior to that of other professors, but that his influence with the governing body was so great, that in the event of a vacancy in the medical staff the candidate he nominated was certain of the appointment, and that to the

injury of others who had been educated at the school, whose scientific acquirements were greatly superior, and who, perhaps, had anxiously waited for many years in the hopes that when a vacancy occurred they might obtain the much-coveted prize which so frequently led to fame and fortune. And here, again, the Corporation, who really still possessed great power in the government of the hospital had they pleased to claim it, seemed perfectly apathetic on the subject, leaving the whole affair in the hands of one of their colleagues, a man of indisputable integrity and humanity, it is true, but of no particular intelligence or education, who was easily led by the dominant medical officer of the day, and whose *nominal* patronage for many years was so great, that any person he favoured was almost to a certainty appointed to a vacancy. This system, however, after a time, thanks to the medical press, received a check, and the abuse was much ameliorated. The first break in the old system of patronage took place about the time of the election of Sir James Paget, whose principal qualification for the appointment was his vast professional skill, and who has since done so much to maintain the reputation of the hospital, notwithstanding the unfavourable auguries pronounced by the supporters of the old system of selecting their medical and surgical officers.

That St. Bartholomew's Hospital has hitherto been of incalculable service to the poor of the metropolis there can be no doubt, and it indisputably is so in the present day; but the question is, Whether its benefits might not have been considerably extended if a

just system of economy had been introduced into its management? Again, another question should be entertained, Whether to maintain a hospital of such magnitude in its present position is not a useless waste of power to do good? When bringing St. Thomas's Hospital under the notice of the reader, we especially dwelt on the injustice it inflicted on the poor in removing it so far from the reach of the dwellings as well as the localities in which the great masses of our working classes lived or were employed. With St. Bartholomew's Hospital the direct reverse has been the case; the poor, instead, have been driven far away from the principal metropolitan hospital, and the one above all others intended for their benefit. In the beginning of the present century, and in fact till some thirty years since, St. Bartholomew's Hospital stood in the centre of a densely crowded district, and was the great means of medical aid and assistance to the tens of thousands congregated around it. And then commenced, as we narrated in our introductory chapter, the great civic improvements. The first of these destroyed the dwellings of some 35,000 of the working classes, who in a great measure depended upon the hospital for medical and surgical relief. Then followed other demolitions of the dwellings of the working classes even nearer to the hospital, and these have continued till the present day, when it is next to an impossibility to find the dwelling of an artizan or labourer anywhere near the building. In the year 1874 we took a list of the addresses of the patients—both in and out

patients—who attended during one week, and we found the average distance they lived from the hospital was something more than a mile and a half. In respect to the out-patients alone, let the reader imagine how fearful a tax it must be on the energies of a sick and wounded person to walk a distance of three miles, to and fro inclusive, without counting the time he is obliged to remain in the hospital till his turn comes to see the physician or surgeon of the day. And yet a vast space of ground within the City boundaries remains unbuilt on, and it might be supposed some of it could be used for the erection of dwellings for the working classes. Of that, however, there is little chance; the clause in all leases or agreements against any persons beyond "care takers" being allowed to sleep on the premises will effectually stop the increase of the industrial classes among the City population. There are now of their order 120,000 fewer than in the year 1780, nor is there the slightest chance of the return of a tithe of that number.

Of course any attempt or suggestion to remove even a portion of St. Bartholomew's Hospital to a locality where the working classes abound, would be met with indignant opposition both from the medical staff itself and the City authorities. Any one proposing a scheme of the kind would be both abused and ridiculed, and the old objection would be brought forward that it would be an injustice to men of such high eminence as the medical staff at present attached to the hospital to expect them to attend at another established at a greater

distance from the West-end, and thereby the greater portion of their private patients, than they do now. But the same argument that we used in the case of St. Thomas's will hold good with its sister, the "House of the Poor," or City general hospital, St. Bartholomew's. We drew a comparison between the success of the practice of the celebrated professors of St. Thomas's Hospital—all men of high fame both for medical and sanitary science—and that of the comparatively unknown staff of the Poplar Hospital, certainly not to the discredit of the latter; and we will now offer a similar proof that an immense amount of skill may be displayed by other medical men of comparative little note by a short comparison between the results of the practice in the *Dreadnought*, or Seamen's Hospital, now removed to Greenwich. On the medical side the results under Dr. Harry Leach and Dr. Balfe, as well as the surgeons, Mr. Johnston Smith and Dr. O'Farril, together with the other members of the staff, were quite as favourable, and the cases equally difficult of cure, as those of St. Bartholomew's Hospital. In the *Dreadnought* Report we find the following paragraph: "The death-rate of this hospital, as compared with that of the metropolitan general hospitals, has for many years past been very low. In 1875 the total death-rate was 5·5 per cent., the medical death-rate being about 8 per cent., and the surgical death-rate a little below 3 per cent.* The average death-rate in the London

* Compare this with the mortality in St. Thomas's Hospital from pyæmia and erysipelas attendant on surgical cases alone.

general hospitals may be estimated at about 9 per cent." From another paragraph in the report we gather that the rules for the admission of in-patients extend to certain common though most formidable cases inadmissible in the larger and more celebrated general hospitals. "Admission," it says, "is always afforded to *cases of phthisis, of incurable diseases,* and *of infectious diseases* (small-pox alone excepted), and to moribund persons. The explanation of the fact of so low a death-rate in a hospital with 250 beds, in which all kinds of cases are treated, may in this instance be supplied readily, and with confidence that it will insure for the charity liberal support." With every possible respect for Mr. W. Johnston Smith, sen., resident medical officer of the hospital, we must beg leave to differ from him in the prognostication (and on that point alone) with which he concludes his report. So far from agreeing with him in the "liberal support" he speaks of, it would be impossible to imagine anything more mean, beggarly, or contemptible than the contributions bestowed on this invaluable charity by the civic authorities, merchants, and capitalists of the City of London.

To return to St. Bartholomew's Hospital and its sanitary condition. Although a building of much older date than St. Thomas's, it would appear, judging from the comparative number of cases of erysipelas and pyæmia in the surgical wards, to be in a far more satisfactory sanitary condition. With 33 per cent. more in-patients than St. Thomas's, instead of the sixty-

eight cases in the latter hospital, St. Bartholomew's had but forty-six. Some singular anomalies in construction of hospitals and the benefits arising from sanitary science occasionally appear, which almost induce us to believe that many of its laws at present in vogue are based upon somewhat empirical principles. St. Thomas's Hospital, on whose construction a vast sum of money as well as scientific study was bestowed, has a proportionate amount of these terrible maladies far in excess of St. Bartholomew's, erected at a far smaller cost. St. Bartholomew's, in its turn, was far more expensively and scientifically constructed than the *Dreadnought*, and has proportionately more cases; while the latter hospital has had far more expended on it than the Poplar, which, as stated in the last chapter, had during the year not a single case of death arising from either malady.*

* Were it not for the serious nature of the subject, the disappointing manner in which many of the efforts of our sanitary professors terminate would occasionally almost reach the ludicrous. One general rule seems to apply to the hospitals erected under their advice or control: that the larger the sum expended the more unsatisfactory the results. This is particularly observable in our lying-in hospitals, establishments where perfect ventilation and appliances are, perhaps, more necessary than in any others. From some researches made by the late Dr. Edward Smith, it would appear that the greater the amount of money expended in the erection of one of these institutions, the greater the mortality, while that known as Queen Charlotte's Hospital, in the Marylebone Road, which did not average more than £40 per bed, was the most successful of all. The average cost of these institutions was of course far higher than the lying-in wards in the London workhouse infirmaries, but the mortality in the lying-in hospitals was six to one higher than in the workhouses. But the most extraordinary fact connected with the subject took place in the King's College Hospital. By way of showing the manner in which

Another point has frequently been urged against any interference with the convenience of the medical staff of these two great City medical charities, St.

a lying-in institution ought to be managed, so as to avoid the excessive mortality which took place in them, as well as to offer a good model to all institutions of the kind, it was determined to open two wards in that building in which every requirement of science, both obstetrical and sanitary, might be found in perfection. Greater ingenuity and study than was shown in the arrangement of these wards it would be difficult to imagine. The floor was of oak, as being considered less liable to absorb organic matter than deal boards, and the walls had a coating of cement which, though costly, was considered far superior, in a sanitary point of view, to the ordinary lime-white of the generality of institutions of the kind. Each patient was allowed between four and five thousand cubic feet of air to her bed, and the arrangements for warmth and ventilation were of the most liberal and complicated description. The expense incurred, as may naturally be supposed, was enormous. It was estimated that taking into account the original cost of the building, it must have averaged some £600 per bed. Unfortunately the results were by no means commensurate with the ingenuity and liberality of the arrangements. After the wards had been open for four years, the mortality among the patients was shown to be so great, that considerable doubts arose in the minds of many of the governors whether it would not be better to close them. The promoters, however, would not allow this to be done, but they proposed other and far more scientific arrangements which would make the wards and their sanitary condition perfect. The alterations having been made, the wards, which had been temporarily closed, were again opened, but the results were even more lamentable than before. During the next two years the mortality among the patients, so far from diminishing, rose to one in fifteen of the gross number of patients received, and the wards were then definitely ordered to be closed. The mortality during the six years they were opened averaged about one in twenty-three. In eleven of the metropolitan workhouse infirmaries, comprising Bermondsey, Chelsea, Clerkenwell, Fulham, St. James's, and six others, out of 2,413 deliveries *there was not one death*. It may also be stated that the whole of the latter cases were superintended by parish surgeons, those in King's College and the lying-in hospitals by physicians in high repute.

Thomas's and St. Bartholomew's Hospitals, by extending the benefits to be derived from them farther eastwards into those districts in which the labouring poor of the City principally reside. It is urged that the duties performed by the medical and surgical professors are purely of a philanthropic description; that in accepting their appointments they are actuated solely by the wish to benefit their fellow-creatures, and to do this they gratuitously devote some hours per week, and those in the most valuable part of the day, in solacing the misfortunes of the poor, and instructing, by their example and teaching, a vast number of young men to follow in their footsteps, so that in their turn they may be equally useful to those requiring medical aid. To add to these self-imposed philanthropic labours would be an act both of cruelty and injustice—an unwarrantable encroachment on the time of professors who already give, without hope of earthly reward, so much of their skill and energies to those too poor to pay for them. But if the subject be further investigated, some very different features—perfectly justifiable in their way—may present themselves in those purely philanthropic principles which actuate the professors of these two great City hospitals, showing that with kindness of heart worldly interests may occasionally be mixed up, without the slightest disrespect to the physician or injury to the patient. That philanthropy may be one of the existing causes which induces a young physician or surgeon to obtain one of the medical appointments to either of these City hospitals we will

not for a moment attempt to deny; but to say it is the sole cause is to state an absurdity. They are, in fact, most valuable appointments, and the first step to wealth and eminence. True, they receive no annual salary for their services, but they are, as a rule, well remunerated in another manner. To each of these City hospitals is attached a medical school, which in its way is of great and remunerative use to the medical staff and professors. It appears from the *Lancet* and *Medical Times* that when the session opened in 1876 there were no fewer than 551 students attached to the schools of these two hospitals. Each of these gentlemen, when they shall have received their diplomas and start in practice on their own account, if they have occasion to call in any one in consultation, naturally choose for the purpose one of their old professors, and thereby raise him to a greater eminence (or popularity) than he would otherwise have obtained. But there is another benefit of considerable importance which the professors of these two City hospitals derive from the medical schools—their immediate pecuniary value. The most moderate fees demanded of the pupils at any medical school in London is £30 per annum, and at schools of such eminence as that at St. Thomas's and St. Bartholomew's they would in all probability be more. If, then, at these two schools there is an average, as shown above, of 551 pupils, the annual amount of fees received from them must amount to £16,530. Now it can hardly be maintained, with an income of that amount, that the professors of these City hospitals are actuated *solely*

by philanthropic motives, as their advocates maintain them to be; and their convenience and time are not more worthy of consideration than those of the labouring poor dependent on the City of London for their means of existence, and for whose benefit these two hospitals were originally instituted.

Possibly the reader may imagine that out of the above-named sum of £16,530 there may be many outgoings which would diminish the amount. There may be, but not that we can see to any great degree. If, again, there are any, in all probability they are considerably lessened by the support given them by the hospital authorities, either in pecuniary aid, or the cession of valuable land belonging to the hospital, or both. We have already stated that St. Thomas's Hospital school building and land cost some £35,000; but as this expenditure had been sanctioned by the Lord Chancellor, though upon what principle it is difficult to understand, nothing more can be said on the subject. But with St. Bartholomew's it is different. If the reader will merely visit and inspect the medical school buildings on the hospital ground, and then take into consideration that it has been estimated that every square foot of that ground is worth some £5, he may form some rough idea of the value of the whole. Apart from this, St. Bartholomew's medical school has from time to time received from the hospital authorities presents in hard cash. The latest sum we are able to prove from the Report of the Charity Commissioners was given some twenty-five years since (no later account having been

forwarded to them), and amounted to £5,000 for the erection and improvement of some school buildings.

It must not be supposed that we do not admit, and to the full, the necessity and advantages of our medical schools; but we much doubt, when it can so easily be proved by their returns that they may be made self-supporting, whether it is justifiable to add to their profits by applying to their use funds and valuable land which were bequeathed or given for the sole benefit of the patients. Nay, more (without in this case alluding to St. Thomas's or St. Bartholomew's), applications are frequently made to the public solely for the maintenance of the sick poor in the hospitals, a part of which, and occasionally a great part too, is applied to the furtherance of the interests of a private profitable undertaking —the medical school; and in support of our statement we offer the following case in point. The reader is aware that a livery company—the Grocers'—lately erected a new wing to the London Hospital at a cost of £25,000, and which, in commemoration of their "charity," is to be hereafter called the "Grocers' Wing." How far any "charity" was shown by the Grocers' guild in the matter it would be somewhat difficult to determine. Had the members of that company subscribed from their own private resources the sum necessary for the erection of the new wing, it would have been impossible to have complimented them too highly for their philanthropy; but to bestow money placed in their hands for other uses than the one to which they in this case applied it, hardly entitles them to the credit of an act

of personal charity. At the same time it must be admitted that the poor, in this instance, benefit by the uses they placed the money to in the erection of the hospital wing; and being one of the few applications of money, in any sum, for the benefit of the working classes by the City guilds, we will admit a certain amount of credit is due to them in the matter.

The wing, as the reader is aware, was opened with great state and ceremony by her Majesty; and on the score that the current expenditure of the hospital was considerably in excess of its revenue, an urgent appeal was made to the public to supply the deficiency, which was responded to with more or less liberality. But about the same time the appeal was made, the following extract from the minutes of the meeting of the house committee of the London Hospital appeared in the *Lancet* on May 13th, 1876: "With reference to the subject of medical school management, and in order to carry into effect the decisions arrived at therein at the meetings of the house committee and the past officers, which have from time to time been specially held to consider this matter, it was moved by Commander Davis, R.N., seconded by H. J. Thompson, jun., Esq., and unanimously resolved:—

"'That with a view to the development and improvement of the London Hospital medical school, and in connection with the proposed joint management thereof in future by representatives of the house committee, and of the medical council respectively, it be recommended to the governors that, during the next three years, the

present grants to the college, *amounting to* £290 *per annum*, be replaced by *a grant of* £2,000 per annum, the committee trusting that by this liberal assistance on the part of the governors, the medical school of the London Hospital may be placed on a more satisfactory basis, to the great ultimate advantage of the charity.'"

At five per cent., £2,000 a year would represent the interest on £40,000, a sum not only far in excess of that received on the occasion of the special appeal to the public alluded to, but the whole of the amount given at the sermons on Hospital Sunday and Hospital Saturday fund put together. True, it is said the £2,000 a year is only to continue for three years, but if it ceases at that time it will be very unlike the transactions in money matters between the governing bodies of hospitals generally and medical schools. Nor in this place had the medical school of the London Hospital the plea of poverty to offer in extenuation, for without inquiring into the value of the ground given by the governors to the school and other assistance afforded it, we find that it has at present no fewer than 131 pupils, who, at the moderate sum of £30 per head for tuition, will raise the revenue of the school from that source alone to £3,690 per annum.

Let us now turn to another hospital, that of St. Mary's, Bethlehem, for the insane. This, in common with St. Thomas's and St. Bartholomew's, is termed a royal hospital, and was instituted for "distracted persons," and placed under the management and control of the Mayor, Common Council, and Citizens of London.

Nothing can be more explicit on this point than the words of its original charter of King Charles I., dated the 14th of October, 1638. "Know ye that we, from our soul affecting and intimately desiring to support and establish the said work (Bethlem Hospital), for us, our heirs, and successors, do grant and confirm to the said Mayor and Commonalty and Citizens of the said City, and their successors, the said custody and ordering and government of the said house and hospital called Bethlem, and all manors, lands, tenements, possessions, and revenues whatsoever, and wheresoever lying and being, belonging and appertaining to the same house and hospital called Bethlem, and do make, ordain, and constitute by these presents, those the Mayor and Commonalty and Citizens of the said City, and their successors, masters, keepers, and governors of the said house and hospital called Bethlem, and of the said manors, lands, tenements, and other premises belonging to the same house called Bethlem. . . . . And further, for us, our heirs, and successors we will, and by these presents declare our good pleasure, and do charge the same Mayor and Commonalty and Citizens of the said City, and their successors, that they *do not deliver nor grant* the said manors, lands, tenements, possessions, or revenues belonging to the said house or hospital, or any part of them, for any term or terms of years exceeding the number of one and twenty years, to commence from the time of the making of such like grant or lease, in possession, *and not in reversion.*" The powers mentioned above were further confirmed by the "Act of

Parliament confirming Agreements with the Governors of Hospitals," 22 George III., 1782, in which the Lord Mayor and Common Council were still invested with the government and control of Bethlem Hospital, which, from its first foundation as a religious house by Simon Fitzmary, sheriff of London, 1247, had stood near the church of St. Botolph, without Bishopsgate. Fitzmary established it as a priory of canons, with brethren and sisters; and Edward III., in the fourteenth year of his reign, granted a protection for the brethren, *Militiæ Beatæ Mariæ de Bethlem*, within the City of London.

About the year 1809 it was decided to remove this hospital, which had remained in its old locality, from its original foundation into St. George's Fields, Southwark, and a large plot of ground containing several acres, now of great value, was secured and appropriated for the purpose. A very large sum of money, at least for that day, was expended on the building, which, however, in common with other instances which might be quoted of a much later date, by no means yielded a corresponding amount of benefit. It is of vast size; at the same time, in the opinion of most if not all physicians accustomed to the treatment of insane patients, it is by no means adapted to the purposes for which it was originally intended. It was built to accommodate 200 patients, who are indisputably treated with great skill, kindness, and attention. In fact, it would be impossible to mention a lunatic asylum in England where greater sympathy and care are lavished on the patients, but at what cost we shall presently show. It should be men-

tioned, however, that at the opening of the present hospital, Lord Eldon, then Lord Chancellor, made some alterations in its management. The *sole* control and government was taken from the City of London, leaving, however, the Corporation of the City the greatest powers, but adding others to them, with what beneficial results it would be impossible to say. On one point the Lord Chancellor made an alteration, possibly, perfectly consistent with his peculiar interpretation of the word "charity," which may very probably differ from that of the reader, and is the better worth quoting as another specimen of the utter disregard often paid by the Court of Chancery to the original intention of many of our charitable endowments. Prior to its removal to Southwark an excellent rule existed in the admission of patients to this charity. Although it had been considered from the time of its original charter as the pauper lunatic asylum of the metropolis, a regulation was made that any patient having money of his own, or who had relations capable of assisting him, should pay a weekly sum for his support, more or less in proportion with his means. If totally destitute, the patient was admitted gratuitously. Lord Eldon amended this rule, and the amendment is maintained, we believe, up to the present day. By it all those who are too poor to contribute anything towards their support are rigorously *excluded*, while those who are able of themselves, or through their friends, to contribute something in return for the benefits received are admitted *gratuitously*. By this change the purely charitable

intention of the original endowment is in great part lost, and instead of being, as was intended, the pauper lunatic asylum of the metropolis, it is now a retreat for the lower middle-class patients.

Let us now consider at what cost these three City hospitals are worked, what is their gross income, as well as what good might be done were they more economically managed; and if we do not fully prove the theory of Lord Brougham, that if our hospitals were carefully managed their gross revenue would be sufficient for the maintenance of the whole sick poor of the metropolis, we shall be able to show that the waste alone to be detected in the management of these three hospitals would, in itself, do an amount of extra good scarcely inferior to that which they at present perform. Anticipating an objection which may possibly be made, that to diminish the expenditure of these hospitals would be to deprive the patients of many of the comforts and benefits they receive, we will draw a comparison between the expenditure and good derived from another hospital more economically managed, and which, for the skill of its medical and surgical staff, and general kindness and attention bestowed on the patients, is, without claiming any superiority, fully equal to either of the great City hospitals. We allude to the Westminster.

As the reader is possibly aware, the Westminster Hospital is situated near the north bank of the river Thames, and nearly opposite that of St. Thomas's on the south bank. From its first institution till the

present day its physicians and surgeons have been among the most eminent in London. If St. Bartholomew's can boast of Harvey, the supposed discoverer of the circulation of the blood, the Westminster with fully as much reason can boast of Chiselden and Pyle, whose reputations were fully equal, as surgeons, physiologists, and anatomists, to that of Harvey, and founded on more certain data. In later times it numbered among its staff the names of Lynn, White, Sir Anthony Carlisle, Guthrie, Sir George Tothill, Bright, and many others; and at present, Bond, the eminent professor of medical jurisprudence, Dr. Basham Barnard Holt, Fenshaw, Macnamara, and others no less eminent. Of the appointments of the hospitals none are superior in London, and the cures effected equal to any. The nursing, one of the most important elements in the present practice of medicine, may stand in honourable competition with the most celebrated hospitals in Europe. If the patients in St. Thomas's Hospital are nursed by ladies from Miss Nightingale's school, and St. Bartholomew's by those of St. John's House, or any other equally celebrated institution, those in the Westminster are under the charge of ladies trained in the celebrated school established by the late lamented Lady Augusta Stanley, and are in the performance of their duties directly under the superintendence of Miss Mary Merryweather, who founded and for several years superintended the celebrated nursing institution attached to the great hospital in Liverpool, while the subordinate officials are

as efficient as in any other hospital in the metropolis. With such a staff as this it must be evident that any one doubting the skill and attention bestowed upon the patients must be difficult indeed to convince.

Let us now ascertain at what cost this valuable institution is carried on, not simply without parsimony, but with ample liberality, if in this instance at least the tree may be judged by its fruits. The Westminster Hospital contains at an average 210 in-patients. It is maintained partly by endowments and partly by annual subscriptions and donations. The annual cost of the establishment, including the maintenance of patients, drugs, surgical instruments, salaries for officials and servants, and establishment charges of all descriptions, including rates and taxes, amounts to £8,540 a year. To this cost should be added house-rent or the annual value of the building and ground on which it stands. True, the building is freehold, belonging to the charity, but its value has been estimated at £30,000; but to meet any objection which may be made as to its being less than the present value, seeing that it was made some ten years since, we will assume its value at £50,000, which, at four per cent. interest, would make, house-rent included, the cost of each bed between £50 and £60 per annum. Our reason for including the amount of rental is, that the endowed charities have the somewhat unfair habit of concealing, when they state their revenues, the value of the buildings and ground on which the institution in question stands.

Let us now attempt to form an estimate of the re-

venues of the three great City hospitals, and commence with that of St. Thomas's. This hospital, like that of the Westminster, is maintained by endowments and subscriptions, but both are greatly in excess of the Westminster, proportionate numbers of patients taken into consideration. We find by the report of the Charity Commission, some time prior to the purchase of the hospital by the railway, that its endowed income was then quoted at £42,800 a year, and which has since, by the great rise in the value of property, increased so much that it may now fairly be estimated at £50,000. To this, however, should be added the value of the ground and building on which, as we stated before, so large a sum had been expended; and estimating the cost of both at only £400,000 (in reality it far exceeded that amount), and calculating interest at four per cent., it would raise the gross annual revenue of the hospital to £65,000 per annum. At present the number of patients in the hospital is stated (and we believe correctly) to be 400.

The gross annual revenue of St. Bartholomew's Hospital is much larger than that of St. Thomas's, but the number of patients is about a third more. It has altogether about 600 beds, without counting those in a convalescent hospital at Hackney. Its income from endowments and other sources, the value of the reversionary increase when present leases fall in, will certainly not be less than £65,000 per annum. To this, however, should be added the value of the buildings and the ground on which they stand. To

arrive at a just valuation of these would be somewhat difficult; but from the price lately offered by a railway company for Christ's Hospital, which abuts on St. Bartholomew's, it would be worth some £350,000, which at four per cent. would yield £14,000 per annum, making a total of £79,000 per annum as its real income. Bethlem Hospital, according to the report of the Charity Commissioners published some fourteen years since, was stated to be £23,854 19*s.* 1*d.*; but since that date the value of its endowments, in common with all other landed property, has greatly increased, and with its reversionary interests its present income may, without exaggeration, be quoted at about £30,000 per annum. To this, in like manner with the other hospitals we have named, must be added the value of the present hospital and the large space of ground on which it stands. The value of this ground and the buildings on it is certainly not less than £5,000 per annum (and that, too, at a very moderate valuation), making a total estimated value of not less than £35,000 per annum. The managers of this hospital state that its income is not beyond the amount required for its proper maintenance, but the reader may, with a little consideration, judge on that point for himself. According to the last report published by its managers, its expenditure appears to us to be most extravagant. Among other items let us take one. The cost of the staff, including the superior officials, servants, and nurses for less than two hundred patients figures for £5,100 a year. Compare that amount with the cost

for staff at the Idiot Asylum at Caterham. There we find no fewer than 1,800 patients, who in every way are as well cared for as those in Bethlem, but the gross cost of the entire staff is only £6,361 per annum. It may possibly be said that the patients in Bethlem Hospital are of a description more difficult to manage than those of Caterham. But admitting, as we do, that patients suffering from acute mania require a greater amount of attention than imbeciles, we still maintain that the amount expended in Bethlem is excessive. As a proof, we may mention that in the Criminal Lunatic Asylum at Fisherton—one of the largest and best managed in the kingdom, and where the patients were of the most dangerous class—the cost did not exceed 11*s.* per head per week, or £28 12*s.* per year.

Let us now inquire if the funds of these three great City hospitals were as economically managed as the Westminster, where fully as much skill and attention is bestowed on the patients, and with fully as beneficial results, what amount of benefit might be derived from them? In the first place, the total number of patients in these City hospitals amounts to about twelve hundred, and of course the funds would be amply sufficient to maintain them without any reduction in their numbers. Out of the surplus, an addition of a hundred and fifty beds might be made to the *Dreadnought* Hospital, and another one hundred and fifty to the Poplar Hospital, both admirable but badly supported institutions, and much in want of extension and assistance.

We have still a large surplus remaining to account

for, and we suggest that it might be employed in the following manner. We have already brought under the notice of the reader the gross injustice inflicted on the working classes in the east of London by the removal of one of the City hospitals, St. Thomas's, in great part instituted for their benefit, to the western district in which it has since been erected. That injury might to a great extent be condoned in the following manner. The north-eastern and south-eastern districts of the metropolis contain an aggregate population little short of a million, a vast proportion of whom are of the working classes. For their accommodation and relief there is not one general hospital,* a fact which, to the honour of civilisation, can be found only in the richest (and, as it boasts itself, the most charitable) city in the world. From the surplus remaining two hospitals might be built and maintained at the cost of the Westminster of three hundred beds each, one in the north-eastern district, the other in the south-eastern. As the new St. Thomas's Hospital was intended to hold six hundred beds, instead of four hundred as at present, this arrangement would go far to supply the deficiency in hospital accommodation caused by its removal.

* The London Hospital principally relieves patients from the neighbourhood of Whitechapel and the districts due east towards Stepney, as well as the poor on the line of the river; Guy's Hospital principally those of Southwark and the districts by the line of the river towards Rotherhithe, &c. The localities alluded to above are—on the south-east, Walworth, Camberwell, Peckham, Deptford, Greenwich, &c.; on the north-east, Shoreditch, Bethnal Green, Dalston, &c. The Poplar and *Dreadnought* Hospitals are solely for men, the former admitting only surgical cases.

But we have still a considerable sum to deal with, and we would suggest that it might be applied to the relief of a certain class of cases which, neither within the walls of a hospital nor resident in their homes, receive the amount of consideration from the public they are by their misfortunes entitled to. We allude to incurable patients, and their name is legion. These are not admissible into our general hospitals, under the pretext that institutions of the kind were intended for the cure of patients, not to take charge of those who cannot be cured. Again, it is no uncommon matter, when a patient has been two months or something more in a hospital without any perceptible benefit, for his physician to consider him as incurable, and to discharge him, utterly ignoring the fact that if he was an object of sympathy when he entered the hospital, he was still more so when discharged, his malady no better, if not worse, and his power of supporting himself still less. Some of these make their way to the workhouse infirmaries, where they are not unfrequently cured, after having been pronounced incurable by the hospital staff—again tending to prove that the whole medical science of the metropolis is not solely confined to those physicians whose names are held in most repute by the public. Others return to their homes, or to those of their friends, where, if they are unable to attend at the hospital, they generally die. Possibly instances of this kind may have come under the reader's notice; if not, they are very easily discovered, but, unfortunately, seldom looked for.

After all, Dickens was right, when, speaking of our poorer classes, he said, "I think the best side of such people is almost hidden from us. What the poor are to the poor is little known excepting to themselves and God." If some of those gentlemen who are now so loudly boasting of the philanthropy of the heads of the medical profession, as shown by their attention and kindness to the sick poor, would investigate the vast amount of kindness to the sick exhibited by some of our grossly maligned working classes, they might easily find in very humble homes acts of untiring kindness and humanity to the helpless sick that, with the exception of a majority of our nursing staffs, would put the philanthropy of our eminent and fashionable physicians far in the background. If any popular writer would make a collection of these cases, graphically but not sensationally written, he might publish a volume of far greater and more genuine interest than nine-tenths of those which at present issue from the press in such vast abundance.

Another class of incurable cases, which from their chronic nature are not admitted into our hospitals, remains to be noticed, and these, unhappily, are to be found in great numbers. Formerly different attempts were made to receive a certain proportion of them into the general hospitals. True, St. Thomas's was only to receive "such cases as were curable;" but St. Bartholomew's, by its original charter, had no clause whatever relieving them from the onus of receiving incurable patients. Afterwards the governors of the Middlesex

and Westminster Hospitals established in them wards for incurable patients, but not sufficiently large or liberally endowed to receive a tithe of the incurable patients who applied for admission. Later still two admirably managed hospitals were established for incurable patients, one at Putney the other at Clapham, but neither by any means sufficiently extensive to meet the demands made upon them, leaving still many hundreds qualified for relief. It need hardly be said the presence of a helpless incurable patient in the home of a poor man must be a heavy tax upon the family, more especially when the invalid is unable by his or her exertions to add anything to the limited family exchequer. Yet cases of this kind may be found by hundreds all cared for by members of their own family, stamping still deeper the truth of Mr. Dickens's remark. The Hospital for Incurables at Putney, the Hospital for the Cure of Paralysis in Queen Square, Bloomsbury, and, we believe, the Home for Incurables at Clapham, have established a certain, but unfortunately a very small, number of pensions. We would now submit whether a pension system of the kind might not be established on the surplus still remaining of the waste of the three great City hospitals? Would it not confer a great benefit on the poor incurable patients at present receiving no relief if a thousand pensions of £20 per annum were accorded them? And the funds left unappropriated would be far more than sufficient for the purpose. There would still be a balance—if the reader will kindly follow our calculations he may verify the

fact himself—of some £35,000 per annum, which might go towards the maintenance of patients in the Small Pox or Fever Hospitals, or the endowments of scholarships at our medical schools. Or should the reader be of a captious disposition, he may place the whole amount to the reduction of any exaggeration he may think we have been guilty of in our honestly intended calculations. We now submit that we have sufficiently proved that the three great City hospitals have been managed in a disgracefully extravagant manner. If the City authorities have exercised any authority in the matter, they are greatly to blame; if they have not, with, as we maintain, the power still in their hands, their behaviour has been utterly inexcusable.

CHAPTER XII.

CITY ENDOWED SCHOOLS.

BESIDES the three royal hospitals mentioned in the last chapter, there are two others, in like manner virtually under the control and management of the City authorities, to be brought under the notice of the reader—Bridewell and the Bluecoat School. It may be urged that so many alterations have been made in the government of these charities, that the Lord Mayor, Commonalty, and Citizens of London are no longer in their corporate capacity answerable for any abuses or mismanagement which may be detected in them, and therefore it would be unjust to accuse them of being parties concerned in the matter. But whatever alterations may have taken place in the management, their original charters remain unrepealed; and if by any *laches* on their part their authority be diminished or lost, they are open to strong animadversion for their moral cowardice, neglect, or indifference, as the case may be.

Let us commence with Bridewell. Its original charter is dated 26th of June, 7 Edward VI., 1553.

"Whereas," it says, "we pitying the miserable estate of the poor, fatherless, decrepit, aged, sick and infirm, and impotent persons, languishing under various kinds of diseases, and also of our special grace, thoroughly considering the honest pious endeavours of our most humble and obedient subjects, the Mayor, Commonalty, and Citizens of our City of London, who by all ways and methods diligently study for the good provision of the poor and every sort of them, and that by such reason and care neither children yet being in their infancy shall lack good education and instruction, nor when they shall obtain riper years shall be destitute of honest callings and occupations, whereby they may honestly exercise themselves in some good faculty and science for the advantage and utility of the Commonwealth, nor that the sick and diseased when they shall be recovered and restored to health may remain idle and lazy vagabonds of the state, but that they in like manner may be placed and compelled to labour, at honest and wholesome employments: Know ye that we as well for the considerations aforesaid as of our special grace and of our certain knowledge and mere motion, desiring not only the progress, amplification, and increase of so honest and noble a work, but also condescending in our name and by our royal authority to take upon ourself the patronage of this most excellent and most holy foundation now lately established, have given and granted, and by these presents do give and grant, *to the Mayor and Commonalty and Citizens* of London all that our manor, capital messuage, and tene-

ment, and our mansion house called Bridewell or Bridewell Place, with all and singular its rights, members, and appurtenances, situate, lying, and being in the parish of Saint Breyed in Fleet Street, London, and all and singular, houses, edifices, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, and services, gardens, void grounds, places, ways, easements, profits, and commodities whatsoever to the said house in Bridewell Place in any wise belonging or appertaining."

After enumerating a number of valuable estates, both in London (especially mentioning the Savoy Palace or Hospital, in the Strand, and all the property and revenues belonging to it) and in different parts of the country, all of which were to be applied to the endowment of Bridewell Hospital, the charter goes on to show that although the Mayor and Citizens of London were to hvae the management of the charity, its benefits were not to be confined solely to the City. "And further we give and grant," it says, "for us our heirs and successors, to the aforesaid Mayor and Commonalty and Citizens of London aforesaid, and their successors for ever, that it may and shall be lawful, as well to the aforesaid Mayor and Commonalty and Citizens for the time being, as to the same and such *officers, ministers, or governors* as the aforesaid Mayor and Commonalty and Citizens *shall from time to time appoint* or ordain to be officers, ministers, or governors under them of the said manor or house called Bridewell Place, or the other houses or hospitals assigned for the aforesaid poor and of two or three of them, at all times hereafter from

time to time, as well within the said City of London *and the suburbs of the same as within our said county of Middlesex,*" &c.

From an "Act of Common Council respecting the maintenance of Bridewell Hospital," passed in the reign of Elizabeth, 29th of May, 1590, it would appear that the livery companies took also a part in the government and maintenance of Bridewell Hospital. It is certain they were taxed, in common with the other royal hospitals, towards its support. The Act says: "Also it is by this the same authoritie aforesaide enacted, ordayned, and decreed that Mr. Richard Saltownstall and Stephen Soame, Aldermen, Thomas Wilford and George Sotherton, Merchaunt Tailors, Thomas Cordell, Mercer, John Harvey, John Moore, and Randall Morgan, Skinners, Simon Horspool, Richard Bowdler, John Quarles Benedict Barneham, and James Deane, Drapers, William Milward, Haberdasher, Humphrey Weld and Richard Gore, Grocers, and Thomas Bennett [trade illegible] or any eight or more of them, shall at some time or times and place by them to be appointed between this and the 24th day of June next, meete, and bye their good discrecions devise and set down some good meanes as well how the house of Bridewell shall be henceforth maintained, as well as how the arreayes that the same is run into shall be paid. And Henry Lovell appointed to warne them."

Several other extracts might be taken from the records of the City of London as well as the charters on which the other royal hospitals were founded, all tending

to prove that Bridewell was under the full management and control of the Lord Mayor and Corporation of the City of London, but not one tending in even the most remote degree to remove it from their hands. Perhaps the best idea of the particular uses for which Bridewell Hospital was established may be formed from a report entered in the minutes of the Court of Aldermen, 29th March, 1644, 19 Charles I., entitled, "A report from the president, three treasurers, and eleven governors of St. Thomas, Christ's, and Bridewell Hospitals addressed to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen." Speaking of the latter hospital, the report recommends the Lord Mayor for the time being to order the constables and beadles of the wards to search from time to time for all sorts of rogues, vagrants, idle women and children which beg, wander, and lie idle in the streets, and bring them to Bridewell, to be seen and examined by the governors thereof, assisted by two governors of each of the other hospitals, and to dispose and sort the sick poor and lame who are unable to work to St. Bartholomew's or St. Thomas's Hospital, and the small children not able to work and born in the City to Christ's Hospital to be brought up and taught, and when twelve years old to send them back to Bridewell to be employed in some good occupation. And the stout and sturdy rogues and vagabonds, and the women and others of small strength, to be employed in Bridewell. The report was signed by the treasurers and eleven governors, and the following note was made thereto: "We whose names are subscribed have perused this report,

and conceive it to be according to law, and may produce good to the City. PETER PHEASANT, JOHN GREENES. The report being openly read in the Court of Aldermen was allowed of and ordered to be entered on the Records and to be performed in all things."

From the above it will appear that Bridewell was considered at the time spoken of as the City workhouse, the governors, however, having power to punish delinquents and vagabonds in a manner hardly consistent with our present ideas of poor-law jurisdiction. It continued in this double capacity till a very late date, and was even used till some four years since for the punishment of unruly City apprentices, but these only by order of the City Chamberlain; now, even that power has fallen into disuse. By the Bridewell Hospital Report, 1869, it seems that one apprentice had in that year been detained in custody of the hospital authorities for twenty-one days, eleven for fourteen days, and one for seven days. A note in the report also says that even in these cases a part of the time for which their committal was made out was remitted. The next year the governors refused to take charge of any more unruly apprentices.

For many years the duties and objects for which Bridewell Hospital was originally instituted dropped off till a very few of them remained unimpaired at the commencement of the present century. The establishment of the poor-law in the City and the introduction of parish workhouses rendered useless their labours in that department; and the organization first of the City

watch, and afterwards of the police force, did away with their duties of custodians of the peace. True they had some prisoners under their control, and from documents still remaining—without taking into consideration Hogarth's well-known plate on the subject—their rule appears to have been a severe if not a salutary one. But the establishment of more prisons and houses of correction, not to take into consideration the new prison at Holloway, did away with that part of the duties of the Bridewell governors, till at length they were only left the school already mentioned.

It would be unjust to say that these schools, now known as King Edward's Schools, have not been well managed, so far as their original uses are concerned—those of a pauper charity school; and even in the present day the education the children receive is certainly not superior to that given in the schools under the management of the Metropolitan School Board, but at what cost we shall presently show. In an entry in Pepys's diary, October 3rd, 1664, he says, "I visited Bridewell, and there I did with great pleasure see many pretty works, and the little children employed every one of them to do something, which was a very fine sight, and worthy of encouragement." Industrial or technical education was then, as now, a portion of their training—the school, in fact, at its commencement being the industrial school attached to Christ's Hospital. Other writers since Pepys's time have also spoken in terms of high commendation of the training the children received in these schools, but all describing

them in the light of charity schools, in which children received only that class of education which would enable them to start in life either as domestic servants or in some humble handicraft. Even at the present day, when the value of good education among the industrial classes is admitted by all, it is but little better. Although the pupils are indisputably treated with great kindness and consideration, their education, as well as their food and raiment, is not superior to that of the children in Mr. Spurgeon's orphanage at Clapham, or the children in the High Church Orphanage at Clewer, although it must be admitted that in these latter institutions they are especially well cared for. At the same time, from the balance-sheet in the report of the governors of these schools in 1872, it would appear that the number of officials employed in King Edward's Schools, as well as the salaries they receive, might be considered sufficient to provide them with an education quite equal to that given in the higher classes of King's College, the Westminster, or University College Schools. In defence of this opinion we will adduce a few items from the balance-sheet of King Edward's Schools, and then submit to the reader whether we were not justified in coming to such a conclusion. By it we find that solely to look after the spiritual welfare of these 217 *charity* children there were in 1872 two chaplains, the senior having a residence partly furnished and £450 a year salary, and the assistant chaplain £120. Beyond these there was a powerful staff of schoolmasters, trade instructors, and other officials

employed on the establishment, amounting in all to no fewer than twenty-four persons, being at the ratio of one official or servant for every nine charity children.* The cost of education and superintendence of the 217 children was in the year 1869 no less than £1,840 a year—a large proportion of the officials being also boarded and lodged.

By the governors of King Edward's Schools' Report, published 1869, they admit even at that date the gross income of the foundation to be no less than £18,175 16*s.* 6*d.* per annum; but this is far beneath its present value. In the amount named, the value of the ground on which Bridewell then stood and that of the school, which has since been removed into Surrey, are both omitted, the whole, at the lowest computation, being worth at least £2,000 per annum. But there are two other items to be taken into consideration. The reader may possibly remember a large plot of ground, stretching at the rear of the houses on the western side of the road leading to Blackfriars Bridge, and reaching nearly from Fleet Street to the gasworks near the river. This ground, which is of enormous value, and which remained idle and unproductive for nearly twenty years, is the property of Bridewell Hospital. It has, however, lately been let on building leases, not only affording a large

* At the time the report was printed we are informed that the managers of the charity intended to increase the number of children to 300. But admitting this to have been done without any increase of the staff, the number of officials was far in excess of that required for the instruction and superintendence of the children in the schools.

and immediate increase to the revenues of the charity, but a reversionary value as well. To this should also be added the proportionate increase in the value of property in London and elsewhere during the last eight or nine years, and of which the estates with which Bridewell was endowed have received their full share. All these things being taken into consideration, it would be no exaggeration to assume the gross income of Bridewell Hospital to be no less than £25,000 per annum. Of the revenue of the hospital the sum of £565 16*s.* a year is put down as salaries totally apart from the schools; but as the whole of the uses of Bridewell appear, with the exception of the schools, to have become extinct, it is difficult to understand what the duties of the officials may be who receive that amount in return for their services.

Wealthy as the Bridewell Hospital may be, and small in proportion to their cost as may be the benefits derived from it, in both cases it is surpassed by the remaining royal hospital under City control and management—the Bluecoat School, or Christ's Hospital. It would be impossible to name an institution in Europe established on more purely Christian principles than the Bluecoat School, nor one which, at divers times, has been more or less perverted from the uses it was intended for. Stow, in his "Summerie," 1556, speaking of Christ's Hospital, says, "It was established to take the chylde out of the strete, which was the seede and increase of beggury, by reason of ydle bringing up. And to nouryshe the said chylde in

some goode learninge, and exercise profitable to the commonweale." He goes on to say that in one month from the opening of the school, November 21st, 1552, "chyldren had been taken from the stretes to the numbre of fower hundred." Machyn also, in his "Diary," about the same time, makes frequent mention of the children in this school, all tending to prove that they were taken from precisely the same class of children as those which now come under the ministrations of the Poor-law Board. For example, in 1552 he mentions, on the occasion of a Christmas treat having been given to the children that "the boysse wore cape skotys" (Scotch caps). On the 22nd day of March, 1552, at the funeral of Mr. John Heths, "dwellyng in Fenchyrche Strette, there went affor him a hundrede chyldren of Gray Friars [Christ Church] boysse and gyrlles two and two together, and he gave them shurts and gyrdulls and makitors, and after that they had wey and figges and good ale." Again, in 1557, speaking of the Spital sermon, he mentions the children of Christ's Hospital being present: "And alle the chyldren of the hospital, boyth men chyldren and women chyldren, that be kepte with certayn landes and the cherete of the nobul Citie of London." By way of exciting the charity, doubtless, of the good citizens of London, they generally, he said, attended funerals, carrying green staves in their hands.

The original charter of Christ's Hospital so closely in its wording resembles those of the other hospitals, and the full control of its funds and management

which it gives to the Lord Mayor, Commonalty, and Citizens of London is in like manner so explicit, that it would be a useless waste of the reader's time to dwell at any length upon it. We shall, therefore, restrict ourselves to a few remarks relative to the changes which have been made in its management at different epochs, always leaving, however, the authority of the Corporation unrepealed, though considerably circumscribed.

On the 30th September, 1567, 9 Elizabeth, a precept was issued by the Mayor to the governors of Christ's Hospital (as well as to the governors of the other royal hospitals) to provide a strong sure chest for their treasure chest, having three locks and keys, one to be kept by the treasurer, one by the president, and the third by an ancient governor, a member of the Common Council. The Mayor appears to have been very precise as well as authoritative in his directions: "We charge and command you that with convenient spede do provide a strong and sure chest to be your treasure chest, and that ye do place or cause to be placed the same chest in the most strongest and surest place in your saide house, and cause the same to be substantially fastened to some principall wall of the same house, with lynks of yron, so that the same be not movable, and that you do cause the saide chest to have three locks and three keys, &c. And that in the saide cheste ye do repose and bestowe all the money that is in your treasurer's handes, and lykewise do cause to be bestowed from tyme to tyme all such sommes of money as by any

means cometh or hereafter shall come and be converted to the use of the saide house. And that ye shall not take out of the saide chest any some or sommes of money otherwise than with the consent of the said president, treasurer, and ancient commoner of the said house, always provided that the treasurer of the saide house for the tyme beinge shall have in his hands, as by way of trust for the necessaries of the said house to be provided aforehand with one hundred marks." After certain equally stringent directions with respect to book-keeping, auditing, and other matters, the precept concludes in a manner clearly proving that Christ's Hospital was considered at the time as an institution directly under the control of the Lord Mayor and civic authorities: "Faile ye not as ye tenden the honor of this Cittie of London and the welthe and good contynuance of your said house. (Signed) BLACKWELL, Mayor."

A modification of the liberal principles for the admission of destitute children was made about the time of Charles I., at the same time practically admitting the control of the Mayor and citizens over the management of the institution. In a rule of the house touching the admission of children it says, "There shall be no chylde admitted into this hospitall except it be first declared to this house, by a certificate in writinge, by a vestry holden in the parishe by whom the suite is made, and the same to be subscribed by the alderman of the warde or his deputie, or of six of the auncients of the saide parish at the least, that the saide childe

was borne in lawful matrimonie, or else in no wise to be admitted. . . . . And this ordinance touchinge the admission of children be not broken, except in cases of extremity where losse of life and perishing would presently follow, if they be not received into the said hospital, which is to be considered by the treasurer and two of the almoners at the leaste, and the same childe to be entered into the courte book, and by the treasurer and almoners to be underwritten, for the clerkes warrant in that behalfe."

The following extract from the same rules respecting the education and training of the children in Christ's Hospital clearly shows the class for which the institution was intended. It is headed, "For putting Children foorth to Service.—Item. The treasurer, with one other of the governors at the least, shall put forth any of the children of this house to service, having a careful regard to whom they be put, chiefly that they be honest persons, and such as will be well able to keep them, and to bring them up to such facultie, service, or occupation as they may hereafter be good members of the commonwealth. Whereas, without such regard taken, they may happen to become more poore than their poore parents and also become evil members, to the great griefe of such as relieve them daily in this house, and that as nighe as they can to binde them with none that be not freemen of this city; and before they are put forth, being men children, they may write and reade and caste accounts, *being founde apt thereto.* And that suche of the children as may be very pregnant and very apt

to learning be reserved and kepte in the grammar schole, in hope of preferment to the universities, where they may be virtuously educated, and in time become learned and good members of the commonweale."

Evelyn, in his Diary, mentions that he visited the Bluecoat Schools in 1637, when the above rules were still in force. "I likewise saw," he says, "Christ Church and Hospital, a very goodly Gothic building —the hall, schools, and lodgings in great order—for bringing up of many hundred *poor* children of both sexes. It is an exemplary charity."

The rules above mentioned held good till after the great fire, and then several alterations were made as to the admission of children, which greatly tended to reduce the number of those absolutely destitute which were sent by the parishes—the class, in fact, for whose benefit the institution was founded—and greatly increasing the patronage of the aldermen and other members of the Corporation. Up to that time it would appear that no children were refused, and if any applied for whom there was no room in the house, they were boarded out till such time as they could be received. At the same time it must be admitted, that for some years afterwards but few real abuses could be detected in the administration of the school, nor were the new rules they issued open to much objection. They are dated February 9th, 1676, 29 Charles II. They were as follows:—

"1. That no children be taken but such as are the children of freemen of this City.

"2. That no children be taken in but such as are living within the City and liberty thereof." (This was made void February 19th, 1677.)

"3. That no children be taken in under the age of seven years.

"4. That no children be taken in but such as are orphans, wanting either father or mother or both.

"5. That none be taken in that are foundlings, or that are maintained at the parish charge.

"6. That none be taken in that are lame, crooked, or deformed, nor that have any infectious disease, as the leprosy, scald head, itch, scab, or that have the evil or rupture.

"7. That none be admitted but such as are without probable means of being provided for in other ways, nor without a certificate as therein mentioned."

There was also another rule made, which, although not immediately relating to the admission of children, is worth quoting as showing how completely the administration of the hospital was under the Lord Mayor and Corporation of the City of London. Referring especially to the Lord Mayor, it says, "That in these rules there is first a particular provision made for the Lord Mayor." It then continues, "Then, to testify the respect of the hospital to the aldermen as such, and bearing the chief place in the government of the City, there is a fixed settlement as to their presentation and preference before all others; so that what was anciently but casual and uncertain is by this rule made certain. There is also a particular

respect to be paid to those aldermen that are of the house who have their turn as aldermen and their turn as governors."

So far there appears to be nothing objectionable in the rules, but there then follows one which doubtless was fairly enough intended at the time it was made, but has in the end tended more to create the abuses to be found in the charity from the time it was made till the present day than possibly all the other rules put together. Speaking of the admission of children it says, "There is a care to be *particularly taken for benefactors* and for all governors who may be useful to the house and *may be bountiful in their charity*."

There can be but little doubt that the passing of this rule opened the way to much corruption in the government of the Bluecoat School. True, its benefactors became far more liberal in their donations, and they canvassed others to contribute, using their patronage, however, to its fullest extent the while. The hospital had also many valuable legacies bequeathed to it, in fact it was supported in a very liberal manner; but, unfortunately, abuses in proportion crept into its management. When these abuses had reached their highest point, a reformer appeared on the scene who effected a great but, alas! not durable reformation, and this was no other than the celebrated Samuel Pepys. It is more than probable that the proximate cause of his interference in the matter, more than any other, was a ceremony which took place in consequence of two eccentric legacies which had been left to two pupils who

had been educated in the school. In a letter, dated September 20th, 1695, to Mrs. Steward, he says, "One thing there is indeed which comes in my way as a governor of Christ's Hospital to hear of, which carries a little mirth with it, and indeed is very odd. Two wealthy citizens are lately dead, and have left their estates, one to a Bluecoat boy and the other to a Bluecoat girl in Christ's Hospital. The extraordinariness of which has led some of the magistrates to carry it on to a match, which is ended in a public wedding, he in his habit of blue satin, led by two girls, and she in blue, with an apron green and petticoat yellow, all of sarsnet, led by two of the boys of the house through Cheapside to Guildhall Chapel, where they were married by the Dean of St. Paul's, she given away by my Lord Mayor. The wedding dinner, it seems, was kept in the hospital hall . . . Bow bells are just now ringing, ding, dong, but whether for this I cannot presently tell; but it is likely enough, for I have known them ring on much foolisher occasions, and lately too."

Whether this was the first cause of Pepys turning his attention to the abuses and extravagancies to be found in Christ's Hospital it would be difficult to say; but two years later we find the following entry in a report of the Court of Aldermen: "Letter and other papers from Samuel Pepys, Esq., relating to Christ's Hospital, being read, the Town Clerk was directed to prepare an answer, to be perused and approved by the Lord Mayor before sent. After many attempts to evade

complying with the letter written by the Lord Mayor, insisting upon the governors of the hospital bringing their accounts before the Court of Aldermen, as well as answers to the accusation brought against them by Pepys of 'ill-management and misapplication of the revenue of Christ's Hospital,' a portion of the accounts was brought forward, but a greater portion under different excuses withheld. Even now, however, sufficient was shown to prove that great abuses existed in the administration of the hospital, and the Court of Aldermen determined to make a searching examination into the accounts. Pepys, instead of being further snubbed, as he appears to have been when he first brought the affair under the notice of the Court, now rose to high favour, and was presented with the freedom of the City, and on the following month, June 20th, 1699, we find this entry in the reports of the Court of Aldermen: "Sir John Moore, knight and alderman, and president of Christ's Hospital, representing unto the Court his great age and infirmity of body which rendered him unable for such attention and appreciation of his own person as the trust and service of that hospital required, begged the Court to permit him to lay down his presidentship." The Court having granted his request, resolved, "That Samuel Pepys, Esq., having given so many eminent proofs of his zeal and vigilance for the interests of that hospital, and his ability to carry on and effect its reformation, the Court was of opinion that he was the most qualified person to be appointed, and the Court requested (it

being an office of charity especially at this time) that he would accept thereof."

Pepys seems to have set about his work with great energy, and was soon able to show that not only the greatest abuses existed in the management of the hospital, but liberal as had been the contributions it had lately received, its extravagance had been such that it was almost in a state of insolvency. He clearly proved these facts to the Court of Aldermen, and they resolved to place the government of the hospital more distinctly than before under the rule of the City authorities, "according to its ancient observances and uses."

From that time to the present the charity has remained to all intents and purposes an institution under the control and authority of the Corporation of the City of London, although the practice of persons, paying a certain sum of money for the privilege of nominating children, and thereby becoming governors, has, perhaps, not left their authority quite as omnipotent as before. By the report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, of which Henry Brougham (Lord Brougham) was chairman, the question of the authority of the Corporation was gone into somewhat minutely. The following are a few of the questions and answers:—

"Who are the governors of the hospital?—The Mayor and Commonalty and Citizens of the City of London, as *represented* by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and twelve of the Common Councilmen, chosen

by the rest of the Common Council out of their body.

"By what law or custom is the Corporation of the City of London so represented for the purposes of this charity?—The Act of Parliament of the year 1782 settled the disputes between the City of London and the hospital. It is entitled, &c. Since the passing of this Act the share of the government of this hospital belonging to the Corporation of the City of London has become vested in the Mayor, Aldermen, and twelve Common Councilmen chosen by the whole Common Council.

"Who are the governors besides the Corporation of the City of London?—Noblemen and gentlemen of all ranks who become benefactors to a certain amount.

"Then are the Committee to understand that the Mayor, each alderman, and each of the twelve common councilmen chosen by the rest of their body have all the privileges of individual governors?—Yes, they have; each of them is a governor, but the aldermen have exclusive rights.

"Who is the head of the charity?—A president, elected by the body of governors, and no instance has been known of its being other than an alderman of London.

"Is he elected for life?—Yes, as long as he continues to be an alderman.

"How do the governors present to the charity?—The Lord Mayor presents two, one being extra as

lord mayor; the president, as president, two, and one as alderman; the other twenty-four aldermen each one annually, provided any children are admitted.

"Suppose the Lord Mayor was president?—He would have two as lord mayor and two as president."

It may be seen by the above how completely Christ's Hospital is a City charity, and as such the Corporation are fully open to censure should any extravagance or abuses be detected in its management.

Let us now submit a short extract from the last report of the Charity Commissioners respecting Christ's Hospital, which was drawn up by Mr. Thomas Hare February 12th, 1864, and which appears to be as just and impartial a document as ever was published by that influential body. By it we find in that year, apart from the valuable estates with which the charity was endowed, the trustees had in the Bank of England no less than £635,000. Apart from other City patronage it appears that the Grocers' Company, in the year 1848, presented the charity the sum of £10,000, under the condition, however, that they should be allowed to have always six children in the school. Now, taking into consideration the average gross cost of a child in that school, they received for that act of philanthropy a return of six per cent. How many children presented by them were sons of members of the grocers' trade is not stated. The expenditure in 1864 for the working staff of this charity school for 1,200 children was as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
Masters, teachers, and stationery. .	10,432	0	0
Medical staff, &c.	1,500	0	0
Officers and clerks and residential charges	2,250	0	0
Steward, servants, beadles, &c. . .	5,800	0	0
Pensions to retired officers . .	1,458	0	0
Total .	£21,440	0	0

Mr. Hare calculated the gross cost per head of the children the same year as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
Cost for education	41	2	6
For house-rent, &c.	14	0	0
Apprenticeship, &c.	3	0	0
	£58	2	6

But Mr. Hare, in 1864, in his calculation estimated the value of the premises and the grounds on which they stand at £200,000; but the trustees were offered two or three years since for the Newgate Street property alone no less than £600,000, and which, considering the extent of the ground alone (five acres), and comparing the amount offered with the sum received for St. Thomas's Hospital, would not appear more than its value, which would add at the least £15 a year to the cost of each child, or a gross total of £73 per head. But Mr. Hare mentions another subject, which, in our opinion, ought to be brought more before the public than it is—the gross injustice done to the female children in the school. It was instituted for an equal number of boys and girls. At the time of Mr. Hare's report there were in the schools some twelve hundred

boys and twenty-seven girls. With respect to the gross income of Christ's Hospital, it appears to have been, in 1864, about £70,000 a year. But, as before shown, at least £15,000 a year should be added for the increased value of the ground on which it stands; and taking into consideration the enormous increase in the value of its estates, both present and reversionary, the income of the charity will be hardly less than £100,000, from which, however, should be deducted £7,000 per annum for the blind charity under the management of the governors of the Bluecoat School.

Let us now take up again the question of the Bridewell, or King Edward's School, also under the control of the Corporation, which, as we before mentioned, was instituted as the industrial school attached to Christ's Hospital, and joining their revenues, see what amount of good might be drawn from them instead of that they at present yield. Leaving out of the question for the moment the value of the school buildings and land they stand on, we will assume the whole immediate value of their joint incomes, together with their prospective increase before the lapse of ten years, at £100,000 per annum. Assume that the boys in the Bluecoat Charity School were sent to their homes, and their parents or friends allowed £35 per annum for five or six years for the board, maintenance, and instruction of each child, what might be done with the £55,000 per annum surplus? It might have been applied to the board, clothing, education, &c., of two thousand orphan girls, at an annual cost of £25 each, house-rent in-

cluded—an expenditure of about twenty per cent. more than at the Anglican sisterhood's establishment at Clewer—with a balance remaining sufficient for the maintenance of the boys in King Edward's Schools at the cost per head of the boys in Mr. Spurgeon's Orphanage at Clapham, leaving still untouched the revenue which might be derived from the land on which the buildings stand (at least £600,000) unaccounted for.

CHAPTER XIII.

ENDOWED SCHOOLS.

WE have still to bring under the notice of the reader other City charities, which cannot be properly considered as entirely parochial or under the absolute control of the Corporation or livery companies, but in which the inhabitants of the metropolis at large have directly or indirectly an interest, and these charities are not only as wealthy, but their funds are as disgracefully wasted and abused as any of those we have mentioned. Fortunately, however, the abuses alluded to have aroused the energies of a very powerful body, the Metropolitan School Board, and they have lately issued a report and schedule of the London educational endowments, which, though without touching on other charities, have brought to light so vast an amount of extravagance and waste in the management of these trusts as to arouse the suspicions of all under whose notice it may come that other charitable trusts may be managed in a like discreditable manner. Although the report issued by the London School Board applies to all educational charities in the metropolis, nine-

tenths of these are either under the absolute control of the City or livery companies, and an equal proportion of the blame for their maladministration is justly their due.

The report of the School Board alluded to, as well as the preliminary remarks, appear to have been drawn up by Mr. Bramley, the minuting clerk of the Board, and admirably he seems to have performed the difficult task assigned to him. His figures are evidently most correct, and the remarks which precede them, while perfectly courteous, are written in a phraseology so straightforward and candid as to merit the respect and thanks of all interested in the just administration and reform of our City and other charities. Speaking of the opposition and difficulties thrown in his way, Mr. Bramley says, "The work undertaken by your committee was one of no common difficulty. The foundations in London for the promotion of learning and labour are, for the most part, superintended by ancient, wealthy, and influential corporations or governing bodies, proud of their trust and jealous of their prerogatives, from whom no willing co-operation in this investigation could be expected. . . . . Under these circumstances, your committee at once recognised that it would be idle to proceed by the method of personal examination. They felt that to invite the attendance of witnesses or the production of evidence would only arouse resentment and refusal. The sources of intelligence open to them were circumscribed to Parliamentary and official returns, ordinary publications, the

information which might be granted by the departments of Government, and private inquiry." After mentioning the courtesy and kindness the committee received from the Charity Commissioners, Mr. Bramley continues: "With great willingness they employed their mediation in quarters to which their position and connections gave them access, *but* the functionaries of the *City companies* were not found to be communicative, though the companies on other occasions have shown a friendly inclination towards the Board."

In a foot-note the report mentions the friendly acts of the livery companies towards the London School Board, but we cannot help thinking there must be a latent amount of sarcasm in the gratitude the Board express. "The following benefactions," the note says, "have been bestowed on public elementary schools in London (to be superintended by the London School Board) by the City companies: Clothworkers' Company, two scholarships of £30 per annum each for four years; Skinners' Company, one scholarship of £30 per annum for four years; Drapers' Company, seven scholarships of £30 per annum each for four years; making a gross sum of £1,200 to be expended in four years. The bare assessment for the poor-rate of their halls alone during the four years, without calculating the cost of maintaining them, or feasts given in them, would be £68,000 during the period, and their liberality in the cause of education, as exemplified by their donations to the School Board, would therefore be something under sixpence in the pound on that amount. But it should

be borne in mind that the £1,200 named is the whole amount received by the School Board from the livery companies for the cause of education in the metropolis; and scant as may appear to the reader the generosity of the three companies named in the report, it reaches by comparison to lavish liberality when compared with the aggregate wealth of the City guilds, which, after deducting the charities they are compelled to support, will still leave them an income of some £450,000 per annum.

In the facts and figures which we have from time to time brought under the notice of the reader, we have dwelt upon the systematic manner the proximate or immediate increase about to take place in the revenues of the parochial and endowed charities belonging to the City of London, as well as the value of their buildings and the ground on which they stand, are invariably omitted. In doing so, however, we have more than once been under the apprehension that, especially in the former instance, we may have been thought to have overstated our case. As the report of the School Board distinctly endorses our opinion on the injustice of leaving unnoticed these proximate additions to the revenues of the City charities, we will quote verbatim the paragraph alluding to the subject: "Endowments distinctly destined for education *may have eluded* discovery, some which might under recent enactments be so appropriated *are not included.* The estimates of revenue, dating from periods more or less remote, *are greatly understated* with reference to the present time, and no

account is taken of *proximate sources of increase which in many cases are certain and important.* Notwithstanding the omission and abatement alluded to," the report continues, "the present return shows that the interests of learning and labour, within the limits of the jurisdiction of your Board, have inherited from the munificence of the past an annual revenue of £222,459, of which £208,891 are appropriated to education, and £13,567 to industrial training—a sum which exceeds by £65,879 the whole amount of the school-rate assigned at present in the metropolis to the current expenses of elementary education, irrespective of the cost of building, the interest on borrowed money, and the reimbursement of the debt."

Speaking of the City charities, the School Board report continues: "A general view, however, of the original character and actual appropriation of the great educational foundations of London leaves on the minds of your committee impressions which it is believed must be extensively shared by moderate and impartial persons, and which may be briefly embodied in the following terms. The foundations referred to were in the main designed for the support, education, and advancement of poor children belonging to the humblest class, and they have been largely applied for the benefit of children who are not poor, or who are poor in a superior order of life. These endowments, or a large portion of the increment arising from them, might, without any perversion of the intention of the founders, have been applied to the elementary, indus-

trial, and reformatory education of the children of the London poor in the forms at present credited. . . . Under the impulse of the Charity Commissioners, foundations created for the benefit of the poorest class are systematically applied for the promotion of middle-class education, with some indirect or incommensurate recognition of the claims of elementary education. *Endowment is treated as the peculiar heritage of the middle orders.* The masses are to be provided for by voluntary contributions, government aid, and the school-rate. This principle may be discovered in most of the schemes of the Charity Commissioners, who have derived it from the Endowed Schools Commission. It is conspicuous in the plans for the regulation of the great foundations of Dulwich College and Saint Paul's School, still under revision."

Speaking of the manner many of the richer endowments for educational purposes are warped from their original uses, the report in a foot-note continues: "Christ's Hospital was intended 'for the virtuous bringing up of miserable youths;' Dulwich College designed 'for the better maintenance, education, relief, and sustenance of poor and needy people, men, women, and children, the poor children to be orphans,' or 'at least such as their parents receive the weekly alms of the parish, and also for a day school in which the children of Dulwich are to be taught,' without recompense or reward; Charterhouse, on the educational side, 'a free school for the instructing, teaching, maintenance, and education of *poor* children or

scholars;' St. Paul's School's main intention free education in a day school. All these foundations have practically become middle-class or upper-class schools, or are designed to become so under schemes emanating from the Endowed Schools Commission or Charity Commission."

The abuses to be detected in the administration of the Bluecoat School we have already alluded to, and, would space allow us, we could point out others equally glaring in the other endowed educational charities mentioned above. Let us take for an example the Charterhouse, a school which, if not directly under the control or management of the Corporation of London or the livery companies, is certainly a City charity. If a few examples might be brought forward to prove that the elements of that most Christian virtue "Charity" may occasionally be detected in the management of Christ's Hospital, it would, to the best of our knowledge and belief, be impossible to do so under the present management of the Charterhouse. We trust we are doing its managers no injustice in making this statement. We have certainly tried hard to find some element of charity existing in it, but have discovered none. And yet, to all intents and purposes, it was established as a charity school combined with a hospital for poor old men, and, as the reader is perhaps aware, a few years since stood in Aldersgate, in the City. It was founded in 1611, and its gross endowment, present and reversionary, cannot represent an annual income of less than £28,000 a year. Abundant proofs could be adduced if

necessary to prove the charitable nature of the original endowment.

Evelyn in his Diary, 1641, when at Amsterdam, writes: "I now went to the Weste House, a foundation like our Charter House for the education of poor children, where they were taught several occupations. The *girls* are so well taught in housewifery, that men of good worth who seek that chiefly in a woman seek for their wives in this hospital." Again, in a tract published some ten years before, the writer, speaking of an avaricious old man, who boasted of the charities he performed, says, "If he could not eat half a black pudding he had bought for a penny, and he gave the other half to a starving boy, he would believe that he had done as great an act of charity as Sutton when he founded the Charter House."

And here arises a curious question for those of our readers who have to maintain a wife and family, and whose average income may not exceed £400 per annum. The Charterhouse School has lately been removed to Godalming, and the scheme of its present management was drawn up by the Endowed Schools Commissioners, and is, as it now stands, as complete an embodiment of their ideas of the proper application of charitable funds as could well be imagined, and from it the reader may probably form some idea of the manner the funds of St. Paul's School and other gratuitous educational endowments may be bestowed in conformity with the wishes of the original founders. Possibly the better plan in describing its present management would be to

quote verbatim a notice on the subject as it appeared in the *Times* newspaper, when the present scheme was published: "The new governing body of the Charterhouse," it says, "have recently passed a resolution which cannot fail to have a most important influence upon the future of the school, namely, that henceforth all nominations to the foundations shall be made, not as heretofore, by a system of private patronage at the hands of individual governors, but by open competition or examination, as has been already the case for some years at Eton, Winchester, &c. One turn has been reserved to each of the retiring governors, by way of recognition of what may be regarded as a sort of 'vested interest,' and we understand that of such nominations about ten remain to be made before the new regulation will actually take effect. Henceforth, therefore, that is, within a few months, there will be no fewer than sixty scholarships tenable at the school, out of which thirty will be styled 'junior scholarships,' and will be open to all boys between twelve and fourteen years of age, whether already in the school or not. These will be of the value of £60 a year, and will be tenable till the end of the boy's sixteenth year, or till his election to a senior scholarship. The examinations for the junior scholarships will be in English, Latin, French, and arithmetic. The senior scholarships will be open to all boys between fourteen and sixteen years of age who shall have been in the school for at least one year, and they will be of the annual value of £80. Besides these, there will be ten

exhibitions of the annual value of £20, open to all boys in the school under fourteen years of age. These exhibitions will be tenable until the age of sixteen, and may be held conjointly with junior but not with senior scholarships. There will be given away annually five exhibitions of £80 a year to be competed for by boys leaving school. These will be tenable for four years at either of the universities or elsewhere, in preparation for any profession or occupation, subject to the approval of the governing body. The consequence of this resolution will be, that while *the fees for tuition and board will be fixed at £95 annually*, any [qy.] promising and industrious boy will be able to reduce in his parents' favour the expenses of his education to £15. All credit, we feel, is due to the governing body for thus voluntarily giving up a system of private patronage in favour of the public at large."

Let the reader bear in mind that the Charterhouse Schools were not instituted for the sole benefit of the wealthy, but are in the strict sense of the word charity schools, enrolled under the Charity Commissioners Act, and that they were not instituted for the benefit of the inhabitants of Godalming, but for those of London. By the present arrangement all day-school education is entirely removed from the class for whom above all others it was originally intended, including the industrial classes and the poor and needy. Among the needy might properly be ranged men of small incomes and large families, to whom the benefits of a gratuitous or low-priced education would be far more consistent

with the intentions of "the benevolent founder" than those who are able to pay for the board and education of their sons the enormous sum of £95 a year of some eight months.* Let the reader (if even a man of moderate wealth, with an income, say, of £500 a year) ask himself the question whether he does not know that he could obtain for his son an education of the highest description, including board, for the sum of £95 a year without drawing on the funds of a charity for the least assistance—whether, in fact, the sum of £95 a year (assuming the school to have 500 scholars) would not be sufficient for their board and education, leaving a balance large enough for the rewards of merit enumerated above, without touching the foundation fund even to the value of a shilling. Again, it should be understood that the £95 per annum of the Charterhouse does not cover all expenses necessary before gaining one of the prizes proposed to be given.

We come now to another City school, in which, even if we cannot discover the barefaced injustice inflicted on the poor and persons of small income as are apparent in the present application of the Charterhouse School endowments, at least sufficient may be pointed out to justify the idea that a great deal more good might be done by the livery company (the Merchant Taylors) which owns it than it at present yields. Moreover, it would appear from the statutes on which

* We understand that this sum has since been raised to £120 per annum.

the school was founded that the principal portion of the funds with which it was originally endowed was intended solely for charitable purposes. As far as the education of the poor went, it was to all intents and purposes based on purely philanthropic principles—as much so, in fact, as Christ's Hospital itself, though in the present day it would be difficult to discover a charitable element connected with it. Should any doubt exist in the reader's mind of the justice of our statement, we beg to submit to him the following short clauses from the original statutes of the Merchant Taylors' School. Among the directions to the head master it is ordained, "He shall nor have, nor teache, at one tyme within the foresaide schoole, nor elsewhere, above the number of two hundred and fifty schollers. And he shall not refuse to take, receave, and teach in the saide school freely one hundred schollers, parcell of the saide number of two hundred and fifty schollers, being poore men's sonnes, and coming thither to be taught (if such be meete and apt to learn) without any thing to be paid by the parents of the saide one hundredthe poor children for their instruction and learninge. And he shall also receave and teache in the saide schoole fiffty schollers more, being another parcell of the saide two hundredth and fifty children comyng thither to be taught, and being found apte and meete to learn as aforesaid, and being poore men's children, so that their poore parents, or other their friends, will pay and give to the head master for their instruction and learning after two shillings and two penco

per quarter for a pair of them." That the founders of the school were resolved that their instructions should be carried out to the letter may be seen in another clause in the same statute. When speaking of the duties of the head master it says, after reminding him of his position in that capacity, that "there is no roome of contynience and perpetuity, but upon your doinge your duty in the said scholle. And every yeare when as the wardens and assistants shall be assembled in the schoole house concerning the visitation thereof, you shall submit you to their examination, and found doing your duty accordingly, you shall continue, otherwise being warned, you shall contente you to departe."*

From its earliest institution till the present day the Merchant Taylors' School has remained under the direct and especial management of the livery company whose name it bears. In the 37th clause of the original statutes it is ordered "that the master and wardens of this company (Merchant Taylors') for the time being, and also all such as shall have borne the roome of a master of this mystery (except such as shall have

* It does not appear when the rule admitting the children of the poor was abolished. Certainly it existed as late as the year 1805, when several alterations, all to the prejudice of the poor, were made in the rules of the school. Dr. Wilson, in his "History of the Merchant Taylors' School," published in 1812, *boasts* that there was not a tailor's son among the pupils, nor, we believe, is there one in the present day. It is more than probable, however, that the original rule may still exist, though not acted upon. Stranger phenomena than that might be discovered among many of our metropolitan endowed charities.

borne the place and room of an alderman and sheriff of this mystery) shall be for ever in time to come called, and be the surveyors of the said schoole, and they from time to time shall take upon them the charge and oversight of the said schoole, to see that in the saide schoole be no more taught than the number afore appointed, and after and according as is before devised and made, and also see that the same be well and sufficiently repaired from time to time by the warden rentor of our lands lying in the easte part which for the time shall be. And for their labours in the schoole business it is not to be doubted but our Saviour Jesus Christ shall reward them as well in this world as in the world to come. For godlyness, saythe Saint Paule, is profitable to all things, as a thinge which hath both promises in this lief and in that that is to come. 1 Timotheus, 4."

Let us now compare the Merchant Taylors' School when first instituted, as described above, with the school of the present day. Now, as then, it is under the direct control of the Merchant Taylors' livery company, but when the members, wardens, and masters speak of it, either in public or private, they never allude to it, as was formerly the case, as a mystery. Possibly in making this omission they are actuated by a spirit of truth, there being, we believe, not a member of the guild or craft, either master or operative, among them. The school at present supplies an excellent education to 500 pupils, who in return pay for it some ten to fifteen guineas per annum. On the

20th of December, 1876, the anniversary, or Doctor's Day, was celebrated, and the prizes given away in presence of the notables of the Merchant Taylors' Company and a large number of friends. This portion of the ceremony over, the scholars recited different extracts from several authors, all evidently in a most creditable manner, reflecting great honour on themselves and their instructors. And then came one of the most interesting performances of the day—a mottet in Latin, an amplification in verse of the school motto, *Homo plantat, homo irrigat, sed dat Deus incrementum.* And here again may be drawn a strong contrast between the management of the school, when at its origin all the managers of the guild were "makers of men's apparel," and the more dignified occupations and professions of those who now supply their place. The school at its origin instructed, and by its statutes of that day ought now to instruct, half the number of pupils, being poor men's sons, without any payment whatever. There were then 250 pupils, there are now 500; consequently there ought to be one-half the present number the children of poor parents, but "apte to learn" under instruction. But at the present time we believe there is not one; certainly no mention was made in the newspaper reports of any of them having been present at the last celebration of "Doctor's Day." Nor can it be argued that the education at the Merchant Taylors' School is of a class too elevated to be useless to the child of the working man; but it should be remembered that the boys on the charity portion of the foun-

dation were to be equally well educated with the richer, and in case the head master neglected to comply with this order he was to be dismissed from his appointment. But assuming, however, that the poor man's son, whose father has industriously "planted and watered," where in respect to the Merchant Taylors' School is the "incrementum" that God has bestowed on his labours? We also hear that in the evening of the "Doctor's Day" a splendid banquet was given in honour of the event, in the Company's hall, in Threadneedle Street, to 150 guests, which must have cost, all accessories included, some £600 or £700—a sum equivalent to the best elementary education, at the School Board rate, for 250 "poor men's sons;" but the idea did not seem to strike any of those either of the guests or the members of the guild present on the festive occasion.

Before quitting the Merchant Taylors' School, we may be excused if we ask why the sum of either ten or fifteen guineas exacted from the parents of the pupils should not be reduced, so as to allow the children of other parents, not absolutely poor, but still far from rich, to receive a portion of the indisputable benefits derived from the instruction imparted within its walls. Possibly we may be told that the educational endowment is not rich, and in proof be pointed to their return of its income to the Charity Commissioners as not exceeding £2,000 per annum, and therefore that a good education could not be given for any sum less than that at present demanded. But on a little further investigation several objections arise which make us somewhat

doubt the correctness of such a conclusion. It is said, and upon what we believe is good authority, that the Merchant Taylors have lately, out of their profuse generosity, expended £100,000 on their school buildings out of their corporate funds. Be it so; but they have at the same time thereby raised the value of their school endowment some £4,000 per annum more. Again, there is no difficulty in showing that from the commencement of the new buildings, a few years since, the value of their London estates alone have increased to a far larger amount than the sum expended on the school buildings. In a former chapter we brought under the notice of the reader the enormous increase in the value of a block of buildings known as the Wool Exchange in Coleman Street in the City, the property of the company. The increase in the value of this one building alone would be fully equal to the whole amount the company have spent upon their schools.

But as we may have occasion to speak of other schools which are directly or indirectly under civic management, we may as well at once attempt to prove that in the case of the Merchant Taylors' School as well as others, they demand too high a sum for the education they afford; and for that purpose we draw a comparison between the payment for the pupils of the Merchant Taylors and the results obtained with those of another City livery company's school—the Stationers'. If the favourable reports of the latter school be true—and we have no reason to doubt them—it would appear that as excellent an education can be obtained in the Stationers'

Company's Schools as in any of the most celebrated in the country, ranging from the elementary to the highest grade of literature and science, not excluding the celebrated schools of Eton, Harrow, Westminster, Charterhouse, Winchester, or King's College, London, for an average sum of £6 a year. Possibly we may be accused of presumption in attempting to judge of the comparative value of the education given in the celebrated schools mentioned—schools which have on their different boards of management the names of those who, for profound learning and piety, are unsurpassed in any kingdom in the world. If so, we will submit to the reader our reasons for arriving at our conclusion on the subject, and probably he will admit that we were not without some data to go upon.

Among those principally interested in the management of the Stationers' Company's Schools, all of whom take an active part in furthering its welfare, are found the names of Sir Sydney Waterlow, chairman of the school and Stationers' Company; Francis and William Rivington, Esqs., the celebrated publishers; John Murray, Esq., publisher, Albemarle Street; Thomas Longman, Esq., Paternoster Row; John Gough Nichols, Esq., F.S.A., Parliament Street, Westminster; William Clowes, Esq., Duke Street, Stamford Street; J. Butterworth, Esq., law publisher, Fleet Street; as well as several other publishers of the highest standing in London. With such names as these on the list of managers of a school, would it be possible to quote another possessing names of persons more eminently qualified to

form an opinion of the value of education? And these gentlemen, let it be understood, unlike many of the eminent men on the committees of the other schools we have mentioned, do not consider their office as merely honorary, but exert themselves personally and energetically in its welfare.

To quote from the prospectus of the Stationers' Company's Schools, the course of education comprises instruction in the principles of the Christian religion, the English, Greek, Latin, and French languages, mathematics, history, geography, book-keeping, writing, drawing, vocal music, drilling, chemistry, and physical science, all of which are taught by first-class professors, under the superintendence of Mr. Alexander Isbister, M.A., LL.D., the head master. Although it is true that the present school building in Bolt Court, Fleet Street, will not hold more than 200 pupils, while the Merchant Taylors' School accommodates 500, the endowment of the former does not exceed £300 a year, including rent of school premises, while that of the latter is at least £2,000 a year for educational purposes alone, in addition to the value of £4,000 per annum for house-rent. Notwithstanding the greater facilities of the Merchant Taylors' School, which was founded partly for charitable purposes, the education there given, though excellent, is no better than that of the Stationers' Company's Schools, which, without any charitable endowment in it, affords as excellent an education for £6, including books and stationery.

Let us now turn to another City school under the

control of a livery company—St. Paul's. This school really belongs to the Mercers' Company, and it is intended, after the example set by the managers of the Charterhouse Schools, to remove it into the country, unless some vigorous opposition is shown to the proposed scheme by the inhabitants of the metropolis. It partakes also, by its original institution, of the double element of a charity and endowed school. It was founded in the year 1509. Its present income is returned by its managers to the Charity Commissioners at £12,000 per annum, but this, including the building and the ground on which it stands, together with the increase in the value of its estates, both present and reversionary, may be safely and without exaggeration taken at £16,000 a year. The number of scholars is limited to 153, at least so it is asserted; but at the same time it should be remembered that the founder, Dean Colet, gave the trustees full power to alter from time to time any of the rules they might consider to be disadvantageous to the interest of the school. Let the reader, when passing the school, cast a glance at the boys whom he may see playing behind the iron railing which separates the building from the street, and then say if he can recognise them as belonging to "every class, country, or degree," for which it was originally intended; or if he could pick out the poor scholar who swept out the schoolroom, and for that duty received fourpence from each new boy when he signed his name on admission. At the same time, we are quite ready to admit that a

considerable reformation has taken place in this school since it first came under the inspection of the Charity Commissioners. Before that happy event took place, one of the abuses annually perpetrated was the notorious "apposition dinner." How far this repast had diverged from the intention of the "pious founder," as Dean Colet is habitually called on "speech days" and other public occasions, may be judged from the fact that the Charity Commissioners brought under the notice of the managers that the item in their expenditure of £229 for the annual feast greatly exceeded the amount named in the original rules, "for the littel dinner the cost whereof was not to exceed foure nobles, and which was to be held as near Candlemas as possible, the time not to exceed three days after or before."

The same report of the Charity Commissioners also remarks on several other items of expenditure which appeared to them too liberal, and further suggested that as the school was endowed for the benefit of the poor as well as the rich, the poor ought to receive some benefits from its endowment. At present appointments are given to the school by the master and wardens of the Mercers' Company. The boys indisputably receive an excellent education, but at the same time not superior to that given at the Stationers' Company's School. Without presuming to offer any opinion on the relative merits of the two schools from our own judgment, we may remark that the education of the latter school seems in some sort the more appreciated of the two, from the fact that it is no unusual occurrence to find

in it boys who have been removed from St. Paul's. And this is the more remarkable inasmuch as the education in the latter school is gratuitous, while for that in the Stationers' the average yearly sum of £6 is paid. It should also be remarked, in the interest "of the people at large," as the charter of the Mercers' and other City companies express it, instead of educating the limited number of 153 boys, so as to represent the number of fish St. Peter caught in his net, if the endowment were properly administered some 2,500 pupils might receive *gratuitously* as excellent an education as that given at the Stationers' Company's School, leaving a considerable balance beyond for prizes and exhibitions to the universities.

But St. Paul's School is not the only one in the City of London under the direct control and superintendence of the Mercers' Company; they have another, richly endowed, which bears their name, but of which little is known, the company being singularly averse from giving any information respecting it. Even the Charity Commissioners seem to know little about it; and they (the Mercers) appear to have set the Endowed School Commissioners, if not at defiance, at least to have afforded them but few particulars on the subject. Nicholas Carlisle,* speaking of this school, says, "Respecting the origin of this ancient and remarkable school, which has suffered neglect, from that vicissitude

* "Concise Description of the Endowed Grammar Schools of England and Wales," by Nicholas Carlisle, F.R.S., M.R.I.A., Assistant Librarian to his Majesty, and Fellow and Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1818.

to which all human institutions are liable, there exist but few satisfactory records in the annals of the City of London." After giving a short notice of the vicissitudes and changes among its patrons, no very great success appearing to have attended it during the eighteenth century, Carlisle goes on to inform us, "that after being closed, it was opened again on the 13th of August, 1804, upon an entirely new plan, but with only *one* scholar; but as soon as the new plan of the school, recommending, in addition to the classics, English grammar and arithmetic should be taught, applications for admission became more numerous. "In short, the school so prospered under this wise system that the Mercers' Company thought proper to enlarge it, and to increase it from twenty-five scholars to thirty-five, its original number, the head master considering he should not be able to teach more." It was especially mentioned that scholars should be admitted without restriction of age or place, and all were to be taught gratuitously. The Mercers at large are the patrons, but they have committed the superintendence of the school, with the right of nomination, to the master and wardens of the mystery for the time being.

Perhaps the best and most concise method of placing before the reader the present condition of the funds and endowments of the Mercers' School, would be to quote a few extracts from an article in the *Weekly Dispatch*, December 17th, 1876, by a well-known writer, who is thoroughly acquainted with his subject, but who withholds his name: "Last week the Mercers

successfully negotiated with the Commissioners of the City Sewers to receive £22,000 compensation to set back premises between the Old Jewry and Ironmonger Lane (that is, on the opposite side to the Grocers' property, No. 8, on which they receive a sixth part of a ground rent of £3,300, and disburse £9 2*s.*). This property must have been, if we are not mistaken, the former site of the Mercers' School. An earlier desire to widen the entrance to Old Jewry led to a substantial compensation, and the removal of the school to Budge Row, before its transfer to its present site on College Hill. In the return from the company it is stated that the company is 'under a covenant to educate twenty-five boys, now increased to seventy,' and they admit an income of £1,800 16*s.* 6*d.* It was to be a free school for ever, but the company permitted the master to receive private pupils. Upon the company's own showing, therefore, £1,800 per annum is spent in educating seventy boys—not in clothing or in boarding them—on a site rent free, or a cost of £26 per boy. Will the Mercers now tell us what is the present income of the property on the west side of Old Jewry, of the property in St. Mary Axe, at West Ham, and also whether the £22,000 will be devoted to the purposes of the Mercers' School?"

If the waste of funds in the Charterhouse, Merchant Taylors', and St. Paul's Schools has struck the reader as being unjustifiable, they are not the only ones under the direct or indirect administration of the Corporation of the City of London where similar abuses may be found. There are other schools to which equal objec-

tions may be taken; but as the funds in the power of the managers, though considerable, are much less than those schools we have mentioned, we will leave that portion of the City educational endowments, and mention a few others where, if the civic authorities have no legitimate control, at least as appertaining to the City of London, they have hitherto exercised great influence. But if the hands of the Corporation are tied in the matter of the schools we are about to mention, their tongues were at full liberty, and the question may fairly be asked whether they were justified in keeping silent in the matter? The first case of the kind we shall bring under the notice of the reader is that of St. Katherine's Hospital. Some five-and-forty years since there stood on the ground at present occupied by St. Katherine's Docks some almshouses, with a dwelling for a warder, and a school for poor boys belonging to the same foundation. The neighbourhood at the time was of the most wretched and demoralised description, and the property around the hospital almost valueless; in fact, it was for this reason, as well as for the convenient position, that it was chosen for the site of the present St. Katherine's Docks. When the dock company had obtained the charter, before commencing operations existing interests had to be bought out, and among these was the Hospital of St. Katherine. This saint, however, like a good many others in the City, appears to have been an excellent hand at a bargain, and for this wretched property her trustees obtained from the dock company the

enormous sum of £160,000. The question now arose what was to be done with the funds, and this was the more urgent as about the time of the bargain with the dock company some rents and other securities belonging to the trust fell in, and were re-let at a vast annual increase in the charity's revenue. At length the question was referred to the Lord Chancellor, praying him to suggest a plan for the future administration of the charity. He, considering the demoralised nature of the inhabitants of Wapping and the vicinity of the London Docks, thought it would be better to remove the hospital to a more pious locality, and at length approved of a site in the Regent's Park. Here some ten or twelve houses were built, to be inhabited *gratuitously* by decayed ladies and gentlemen of quality, while the senior poor man, beadle, or warden, or whatever his title may be, had a handsome house erected for his occupation. The present income of the charity exceeds £12,000 a year. The pensioners, apart from the pensions they receive, generally let out their houses ready furnished, and occasionally, it is said, their seats in the hospital chapel; while the warden, till very lately, if not now, received some £2,000 a year, including the value of his house, for seeing that the poor pensioners made themselves comfortable. It may be mentioned, in conclusion, that the sum they returned to the Charity Commissioners, and quoted in the late School Board Report, as applied to charitable educational purposes, was only £140 per annum.

Let us now shortly notice another educational en-

dowment, Dulwich College, which, although not at present in any way under the legitimate control of either the Corporation or livery companies of the City of London, is of sufficiently civic origin as to have offered a valid excuse for the expression of indignation on the part of either at the application of its funds as proposed by the Endowed Schools Commissioners and approved by the Lord Chancellor. The income of this charity for educational purposes alone, as admitted by the trustees and published by the Charity Commissioners, is £11,230 4*s.* per annum. It was the intention of the founder that his very valuable bequest, both for adults and children, should be applied for the benefit "of the poor and needy." As before stated, "the poor children to be orphans, or of parents so poor as to be in the receipt of parish relief;" the children in the College School, as well as the children in the Dulwich School, to be taught without fee or reward. Had the trustees been permitted to have entirely their own way, it is more than possible that the whole of the income for educational purposes would have been lavished on the establishment at Dulwich, but Mr. McCullagh Torrens, M.P., and certain other municipal reformers, raised so loud a cry at this injustice, that public indignation was aroused, and in so energetic a manner, that the Commissioners, apathetic as they may be as a rule, were obliged to make some concessions, and Finsbury, Camberwell, and another district named by Allen contrived to obtain some portion of the endowment, leaving by far the

greater portion of it to be applied to the maintenance of the college at Dulwich, in which, as far as we have been able to discover, there does not appear to be a single charitable element in the whole of its administration; nor are the pupils taught without fee or reward, but, on the contrary, pay liberally for the education they receive.

There appears to exist in the minds of the Endowed Schools Commissioners an impression that extravagance and liberality are synonymous terms, and if there be any foundation for this suspicion, Dulwich College in its plan and architectural elevation may be brought forward in proof. On the building and ground of this charity for the benefit "of poor children" the trustees have expended fully £120,000, and that for the accommodation of from 600 to 800 pupils. In excuse for this expenditure, they maintain that a school of proportions sufficiently large to receive such a number of pupils could not be built for a less sum. But is this really the case? Let us compare it with another school of some notoriety, if not placed in so prominent a position as Dulwich College—the Jewish Free Schools in Bell Lane, Whitechapel. The school buildings, instead of being constructed to hold 800 pupils, have on an average 2,600. The education given in the Bell Lane Schools extends from the purely elementary up to that of the highest class. Many eminent men of the Hebrew persuasion now in London, in the law, in the practice of medicine, and literary men, as well as artists, merchants, and bankers, received here

their first education. And yet the whole cost of the school buildings, to accommodate 2,600 pupils of all grades, did not exceed £20,000, including the purchase of the freehold, or less than £10 per head of the scholars under instruction. Let the reader compare these amounts with the cost of Dulwich College—£120,000 for 800 pupils, or in round numbers £150 per head—and then say whether some £80,000 of the cost might not have been better expended in furthering education among the poorer classes for whom the endowment was originally intended.*

* The cost of many of the school buildings erected by the City of London, both of those of the livery companies and Corporation, is enormous. Let us take for example that of Christ's Hospital, for which a railway company offered £600,000, with some other schools in which the pupils are also boarded, and the reader will then perceive what might be effected at a much less cost, and with appointments and accommodation in every respect equal, if not superior. Let us take as an example the Cambridge County College, which possesses separate rooms for 300 boarders, separate rooms for 12 tutors, 12 class-rooms, each 48 feet in length, 14 bath-rooms, 48 w.c.'s, servants' rooms, matron's apartments, library, committee-rooms, sitting-rooms, chapel, dining-hall, lecture-hall, numerous lavatories, and two large houses for principal and vice-principal; the cost of the land and building did not average more than £100 per student.

Take, again, the Cheltenham College; principal, the Rev. T. Jex-Blake. Here the accommodation for 55 boarders, 8 to 10 masters and families, and 8 to 10 servants, costs at an average £90 per inmate.

A still stronger proof may be found in the Uppingham Public School, which is not one building, but rather resembles a handsome village. The entire establishment consists of a church, gymnasium, school-rooms, 2 fives'-courts, hospital, 2 bathing-places, 2 cricket-fields, 1 cricket-pavilion, a separate study for each boy, and 14 large mansions for residences; the average cost for each inmate being only £81. Let us now divide the £600,000 of the Bluecoat School among the gross number of pupils, say 1,200, and the result will be no less than £500 per head.

The administration of another charitable endowment, partially, if not entirely, in the hands of the civic authorities, is also worthy of notice, as another proof of the lamentable waste of money arising more or less from want of capacity or else indifference on the part of its managers—the Emanuel Hospital. This charity, Low tells us, was established in James Street, Westminster, in 1594, and incorporated 1660. It was founded by Lady Dacre for 10 poor men, 10 poor women, 10 poor boys, and 10 poor girls; one of each from the parishes of Chelsea and Hayes, in Middlesex, City of London, and Brandsburton, in Yorkshire, and the rest from the parish of Westminster, each pensioner to have a house and garden, £20 a year, and two chaldrons of coals. This number was afterwards extended till it reached to double the original number, besides 60 children, and the payment to pensioners increased to £24 per annum. The charity was placed under the guardianship of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London for the time being.

In the year 1865 this institution, which then had the number of almspeople mentioned above, together with Palmer's Charity, which had 12 almspeople and 20 boys; Emery Hill's Charity, which had 12 almspeople and 35 boys, and the Greencoat School Charity, which had 28 boys only, all in Westminster, were brought under the notice of the Endowed Schools Commissioners, who united them under one board of management, having drawn up a scheme for its future government. After a lapse of some five years the

scheme was published, and in each case the governing bodies were left undisturbed in the management of the almshouse department. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen were to govern the Emanuel Hospital almspeople, as also to manage the Brandsburton estate, while Palmer's and Hill's trustees were to do the same with respect to their almshouses and the alms share of the property. The net consolidated amount then left for educational purposes was estimated by the Endowed Schools Commissioners at £4,000 a year, exclusive of £800 a year not then, for some cause unexplained, deemed available.

The new governing body as proposed by the Commissioners, and which has been carried into effect, consists of the Dean of Westminster for the time being, the two members of Parliament for Westminster, three members to be named by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, one Westminster incumbent, three persons named respectively by the Dean and Chapter, the governors of Westminster School, and ten others. The Commissioners also proposed to apply the £4,000 per annum in creating three large schools for boys, each to contain 300 pupils, viz., two day schools in Westminster, and one boarding school in the country near London. These schools, the Commissioners say, are intended for children of the same class as those which now use the schools, viz., the lower middle class and upper artizan. The fee for instruction might, at the wish of the governors, be as low as £2 a year in one day school, and £4 a year in the other

day school as well as in the boarding school. The fee for boarding was not to exceed £20 per annum. There is to be free instruction for 50 only, at half fees for 50 more, out of each 300 scholars.

Considerable opposition was offered to the scheme of the Commissioners, notwithstanding that at first sight it seemed plausible enough. Some objections were made, and with good cause, against the idea that these charitable funds should be withheld from the poorest, for whom they were evidently originally intended; but the strongest opposition that was offered was on the ground that certain civic authorities had a strong voice in the management of educational charitable funds which were intended by the Commissioners for the benefit of the inhabitants of Westminster. The scheme also gave great offence to the Corporation, inasmuch as they maintained that the governing power should remain absolutely in their hands, as the children in the City proper were as much intended, if not more so, to benefit by the endowment as those of Westminster. The dispute between the Corporation and the Commissioners at last reached such a height that before the scheme received the royal assent Mr. Crawford, M.P. for the City, presented a motion to the effect that "an humble address be presented to her Majesty praying her to withhold her assent to the scheme of the Endowed Schools Commissioners for the management of Emanuel Hospital in the City of Westminster." The debate was a most animated one. The principal opponent to Mr. Crawford's motion was Mr.

Andrew Johnston, M.P., who argued his point with great tact and ability, resting his arguments principally on the fact that the children of the poor had by the destruction of dwellings by the Corporation itself been driven beyond the City boundaries, and thereby the government of the school by the civic authorities was not needed. Speaking of the claims of Westminster over the City, he remarked that "the Endowed Schools Commissioners were not likely to be accused of limiting these areas unduly, but they have thought it right to limit the benefits of this foundation to the poorer parishes of Chelsea and Westminster. The population of these districts is 137,000. Surely there are poor enough here without importing poor children from the City of London. It is asserted there are plenty of poor children there. Possibly there are, but there are also abundant endowments for them, and if proper use is not made of them it is not the fault of the Endowed Schools Commissioners. Why, sir, I hold in my hand a list of seventeen parishes. They contain, on an average, 181 men, women, and children each. They have, on an average, an income of £1,290 per annum each of endowed charities. As to what they do with them I am not going to trouble the House with on this occasion. It is a very curious study, but they largely use them in paying their rates, that is to say, in alleviating the burdens on palatial warehouses and banks out of funds left for the benefit of the poor."

Let us now point our moral in the matter of the

Emanuel Hospital Schools. Up to the time when they came under the notice of the Endowed Schools Commissioners the Corporation had the undisputed control of this charity, and since the Commissioners' scheme received the royal assent they have still a voice potential in their management. The income is admitted for education alone to be £4,000 per annum, but they omit to mention that the unproductive land in Victoria Street, Westminster, lying between it and the park, is worth at the least £7,000 a year more. There is also another charity in the same locality, in the management of which we believe the City has indirectly some voice. —the Greycoat School. The income of this charity for educational purposes, as quoted by the School Board in their report, is £3,500 per annum, irrespective of their unproductive land in Victoria Street, for which they are asking £6,000 a year, making, together with Emanuel Hospital, a gross income for educational purposes of £20,500 a year, and this without taking into account some other valuable school land in the same locality. But more remains to be told. This land has been lying idle and unproductive for the last twenty years. Another singular feature in the matter of these schools may also be noted. The endowments of these schools, which have so long remained unprofitable, were intended for educational instruction after the tenets of the Church of England. During the twenty years the ground has remained idle the children of Roman Catholics in their charity schools in the locality have increased from 240 to 1,365.

CHAPTER XIV.

CONCLUSION.

THE reader must not imagine that we have by any means exhausted the catalogue of abuses, whether parochial, charitable, educational, or municipal, to be found in the administration of affairs in the City of London, for such a conclusion would be a most fallacious one. We might have brought under his notice the enormous clerical revenues and the numerous staff of clergy employed in the different civic churches, as well as other appointments; but as it might give umbrage to many of our readers if we dwelt at any length on the subject, we will shortly allude to a few of its salient points, leaving the others untouched. We find, by the Clergy List, that for a population less than one-third that of the parish of St. Pancras, there are no fewer than 106 parochial livings, with incomes averaging from £30 to £2,400 per annum, with a staff of 79 incumbents and 59 curates, and this without counting the cathedral staff of St. Paul's, the masters of the endowed schools, the chaplains of the principal livery companies, and many other similar appointments.

too numerous to mention. Many other subjects of interest remain untold, which, if not of the magnitude of those we have mentioned, are equally barefaced and unjust. In all of these the poor as well as the industrial classes in general have more or less suffered, and, after the civic fashion, the injustice has increased in proportion as the poverty of the sufferers is the greater or their means of opposition the less. In many cases of the latter kind there may be found in the replies to those who attempt to remonstrate with the Corporation or livery companies, an amount of cynical impudence, yet so utterly transparent, that it would provoke a smile were not the subject so painful. On other occasions they bring forward excuses of extraordinarily subtle sophistry, in fact, so much so as to dazzle or perplex by their ingenuity men of ability who had arrived at the conclusion that injustice was being done to the poor. Let us take, for example, the case of Mr. Andrew Johnston, in the debate in the House of Commons on the Emanuel Hospital scheme, mentioned in the last chapter. Speaking of some of the small City parochial charities, consisting of doles, &c., he said, "Well, sir, these funds ought to provide for the education of City children.* Section 30 of the Endowed Schools Commissioners' Act provides a cheap and easy method of doing this. That section has been

* Could Mr. Johnston inform us where any "City" children are to be found? We are unacquainted with any locality in which there are sufficient *poor* children to fill a school large enough to accommodate a hundred pupils.

law for four years, and not one of these bodies has made the slightest move towards taking advantage of it! And yet, sir, they had a noble example before them. I hold in my hand a scheme promoted by the Grocers' Company. My hon. friend the member for the City spoke of this scheme. I wonder he did not see how it tells against, rather than in favour of his argument! I am glad to say it is no longer a scheme, for although a right rev. prelate did threaten it with opposition in the other House, it has received her Majesty's assent, and is now the law of the land. And a noble part too. Thirty thousand pounds' worth of 'useless doles,' and of funds under their absolute command, the Grocers' Company devote to founding a great second-rate day school."

With great respect for Mr. Andrew Johnston, he was hardly justified in the conclusion he had arrived at. The doles he alluded to were of a purely charitable nature, intended for the sole benefit of the poorest, all of whom have been driven from the City, while the Grocers' Company's Schools appear to have hardly a charitable element to be found in them, as every pupil is obliged to pay £6 per annum for the education he receives. Had the company established a free school, open to all, rich or poor, a strong excuse might be offered for the present school; whereas it is not only established in a locality where there are but few if any poor, but, if there were, the terms demanded for the instruction given would deprive that class for whose uses the money was bequeathed from profiting by it in

any manner. And then, again, without in this instance alluding specially to the Grocers' Company, it would be curious to inquire to what uses these "doles" of charities have been put by the livery companies and the Corporation of the City of London, when the original trusts have, from want of applicants and other causes, become obsolete, as well as the plausible excuses given for applying the funds to other uses than those for which they were originally intended. One of the most frequent of these excuses is, that by giving away these doles of food to the poorest that spirit of self-dependence which it ought to be the duty of every true moralist to encourage is destroyed in them. Although it might be somewhat difficult to show in what manner the receipt of these doles is more likely to destroy the spirit of self-dependence than the poor-law outdoor relief, on which they are recommended to depend as less demoralising, it would be equally difficult to prove whether a large portion of these doles, or at least their monetary equivalents, is not expended in a manner equally objectionable to the moralist. It has been stated, and we believe on good authority, that the annual value of these confiscated doles has been exceeded five times over by the increased expenditure in feasting, and its accessories, by the livery companies since the abolition of the City doles first commenced. In other words, the amount and value of the food intended for the necessitous or starving poor has been, and is now, consumed by those who are far from want of any kind, and that without causing the slightest pangs of con-

science or fear of demoralisation in the minds of the consumers.

The reader may, and with reason, imagine that there must exist some extenuating circumstances which could be brought forward in favour of the Corporation of London and the livery companies so as to make their management appear less objectionable than it at present does to a vast majority of the inhabitants of the metropolis. This may be the case, but as far as our experience goes we know but of one—the unjustifiable indifference shown by the government authorities to the abuses which existed, and which either by the press or public opinion were daily so forcibly brought under their notice; and to no authority does this remark more directly apply than to the Local Government Board. Whatever excuses other Commissioners might make as to their want of power or right to interfere, that Board had none. On the contrary, one of the principal powers placed in their hands was precisely that which authorised the Commissioners to investigate and correct such abuses as those existing in the ancient charities and endowments of the City of London, as the following extract from their Act of Parliament will go far to show: "And be it enacted, that it shall be lawful for the said Commissioners, and they are hereby empowered from time to time as they may think fit, to require from all persons in whom any freehold, copyhold, or leasehold estate, or any other property or funds belonging to any parish, and held in trust for or applicable for the relief of the poor, or

which *may be applied in diminution of the poor's-rate* of such parish, shall be vested, or who shall be in receipt of the rents, profit, or income of any such estates, property, or funds, a true and detailed account in writing of the place where such estate may be situate, or in what mode or on what security such other property or funds may be invested, with such details of the rents, profits, and incomes thereof, and of the appropriation of the same, and of all such other particulars relating thereto as the said Commissioners may direct and require; and such statement, or a true copy of the same, shall, under the regulations of the said Commissioners, be open for the inspection of the owners of property and ratepayers in such parish; provided always, that nothing hereinbefore contained shall apply to any funds raised from time to time by the voluntary contributions of the inhabitants of such parish."

Before concluding our labours, let us shortly call the attention of our readers to some of the principal abuses we have brought under their notice, and then speak of the first steps we hold should be taken to obtain redress both for the industrial classes of all denominations, and the population of the metropolis at large.

1. We have attempted to show the despotic cruelty exercised on the working men and others in driving them out of the City at a great and inconvenient distance from their labours, thereby taxing their energies as well as their earnings in a most unjustifiable manner, the

injustice increased by the destruction of their City dwellings, and then allowing the land on which they stood to remain for a quarter of a century or more waste and unproductive rather than permit them to return.

2. We have to some extent shown how vast were the parochial charities to which the poor thus ejected from the City were entitled, and which increased in value in proportion as the number of recipients in the particular parish in which they were situated became the less; and we have further shown that in the uses to which these funds were afterwards placed how completely all the *charitable* intentions of the original benefactors have been set aside and disregarded.

3. We have further brought under our reader's notice some of the grosser abuses existing in the City livery guilds, how vast is the amount of their wealth, and how rapidly, at more than compound interest, that wealth is increasing. That with the increase of this wealth no proportionate increase in charitable action is apparent, and the doles, over which they had supreme power when left under their administration, have been consumed by the increased expenditure of their feasting.* We have also attempted to prove how dis-

* The reasons put forth by the livery companies in defence of their confiscation of the "doles," as well as the increased extravagance of their own feeding, occasionally verge on the ludicrous. In defence of the confiscation of the doles, they urge that it is, as we stated, done to encourage a sentiment of self-dependence among the working classes; in defence of their own increased gluttony, they profess that it is to stimulate the feelings of brotherly love and charity even at present to be so largely found among the richer portion of the population. That doles are in the present day a most objection-

honestly the guilds of the present day have evaded the municipal and trade duties for which they were principally instituted, and at the same time driving, by enormous entrance fees, the craftsmen from all participation in the benefits to be derived from the accumulated funds bequeathed to the particular guild in which they may be employed. In many instances they have thrown impediments in the way of employers in the same trade becoming members of the livery; and this to such an extent, that for a man to say that he is a liveryman of the Goldsmiths', Drapers', Clothworkers', Leathersellers', and other guilds, is almost tantamount to declaring that he is in no way connected with the trade itself. For any one to admit that he is a member of the Mercers' Company is not only equivalent to saying that he is not in any manner connected with the "mystery of mercerie," but at the same time leaves open the probability (a remote one, it is true, but still a probability) that he may be a chief justice or an ex-lord chancellor. The livery guilds have not only been mainly instrumental in driving the industrial classes beyond the City precincts, but have thrown, in their leases, every possible legal impediment in the way of their return. Few have an idea to what an extent this despotism has been carried. Sooner than allow homes, no matter how respectable—the Peabody dwellings for

able manner of administering charity no man of common sense can doubt; but surely the funds bequeathed with so charitable a feeling might be employed in some manner more consistent with the spirit of *charity* than can be detected in the uses the money is at present put to.

example—to be built, they, in conjunction with the Corporation, have allowed much of their land to remain waste and unproductive. Should the reader consider this statement exaggerated, the next time he crosses the Holborn Viaduct let him cast his eyes to the northward and mark the immense expanse of ground even at present uncovered, and which has remained so for the last quarter of a century. Let him then remember that a quarter of a century since the owners of that land could have obtained, even on the side roads, three guineas a foot rental for the frontage, and that the whole might in the course of a week be now let for the same rental. He may then, perhaps, admit that we are not without some data to go upon.

4. The extravagant administration of the Corporation funds, as well as the amount spent in feasting and ceremonial, have also been noted, as well as the abuse and injustice exhibited in the management of the royal hospitals and other endowments, educational or otherwise, directly or indirectly connected with the City. We have attempted to prove that if the City great medical endowments were administered with the economy of the Westminster Hospital, more than 1,500 beds in addition to those already under the management of the governors might be made applicable to municipal uses beneficial to the whole metropolis, and that without the cost of one shilling to the ratepayer. That the workhouse infirmaries lately erected, together with the small-pox and fever asylums, might be maintained from the excess funds of the three hospitals,

St. Thomas's, St. Bartholomew's, and Bethlem, and that the excess so applied would be simply a return of the endowments to their original uses—the relief of the sick poor of the City of London *and the suburbs thereof.* We have further given instances of the waste of educational funds, and that to an extent which almost bears out Lord Brougham's opinion that they were sufficient, if properly managed, for the elementary education of the children of the whole metropolis. Other abuses we have also noted, many of which present an almost incredible amalgamation of refined cruelty, injustice, and despotism unsurpassed in any capital in Europe, and which is rendered still more detestable by the cant and sophistry of the perpetrators, that all is done solely with a view to benefit their fellow-creatures. We have attempted to erase from the reader's mind the false impression which may have taken root in it, and excusably so, from the repetition of the falsehood perpetually dinned into his ears at City dinners and at civic public meetings—that if the City is the great organ of the wealth of the community, it is equally the great origin of charitable enterprise among the wealthy; that all the greatest charitable works of the present day, the Hospital Sunday Fund, the Saturday Hospital Fund, as well as other similar charitable funds, all derived their origin from civic charitable enterprise.

In one of our principal newspapers we found, a short time since, a highly eulogistic paragraph on the wonderful charitable efforts of the City of London

in collecting during the year a sum of not less than £50,000 for different philanthropic purposes, adding that no city in Europe could have equalled it. Why, during the Orissa famine seventy Parsee merchants in Calcutta subscribed a far larger amount, and that without blowing their own trumpets on the occasion. When the writer's pen was employed on the above paragraph, it would have conveyed to the reader a far better idea of the power of the City authorities had it stated the following short fact—that the City is the great organ of monetary circulation in the kingdom, and that the amount of money from all sources which passes through it in the course of the year represents the interest and profit on some three thousand millions of pounds sterling. Let him or the reader compare that amount with the £50,000 boasted of by the writer of the paragraph, and a better conclusion will be arrived at of the value of the "City" influence in works of charity than merely its own boasting. That charitable feeling in England is latent to an extent sufficient to wipe our poor-laws from the statute books is certain, and to spare; but to develop it in a satisfactory manner would require a far different agency than the "City" authorities. We have constantly brought before us the liberal contributions of the livery companies to the poor-box at the different police-courts; but compare the amounts given with the ascertained revenues of these companies, and, proportionate means being taken into consideration, the contribution of the widow's mite into the Lord's treasury almost

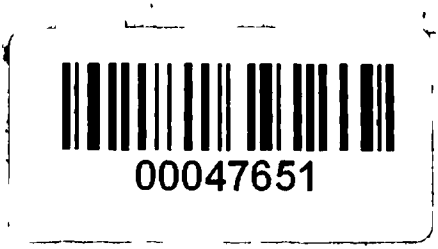
becomes a useless piece of ostentatious display. There is, however, even in this contrast, an element of good in the widow's charity which is wanting in that of the livery companies: the mite was her own, and she was, in equity, justified in bestowing it as she pleased; but the money forwarded by the livery company to the police-court was placed in their trust for a different purpose, and, moreover, as not being their own private property, all personal charitable feeling on the part of the donors was completely annulled. Nor can this state of things be excused on the plea of lack of sufficient moral and religious supervision. By reference to the Clergy List we find that the clerical staff of the City is comprised of one dean (St. Paul's), with a salary of £2,000 per annum, four canons with £3,666, a precentor, chancellor, treasurer, two archdeacons, twenty-nine prebendaries, beside twenty-one other clerical officials, all of whose salaries are not stated. There are also no fewer than one hundred and twenty-nine livings, some, it is true, but of very trifling value, others ranging from £500 to £1,500 a year; the income of the whole (without comprising the value of the parsonage houses) making a total of £37,647 per annum. Besides these there are a large number of other clerical appointments, such as chaplains to the City guilds and prisons, lectureships, &c.; and the whole of this immense clerical staff is for the religious instruction and supervision of a resident population of less than 70,000 souls, which is daily decreasing.

Having, possibly imperfectly, sketched so many of

the abuses existing in our London civic administration, leaving many still untouched, we would now respectfully ask the reader whether some energetic means should not be taken to work out an effectual reformation, so as to relieve the metropolis at large, including all classes, rich and poor alike, from the civic incubus at present weighing on them. And this is only to be done by the united action of all parties aggrieved by the present state of things. If the inhabitants of the metropolis were to take up the matter, redress would certainly soon follow. Let them remember that to keep up the so-called civic privileges and hospitality the metropolitan ratepayers are mulcted of some half a million sterling per annum; and if the reader can without inconvenience pay his quota, he should remember that there are thousands of his fellow-citizens far less fortunately situated. Let the inhabitants of the metropolis remember how grievously have the children of the poor (Christ's legatees) been robbed of their inheritance, and that, too, in one of the most vital elements of their future respectability and prosperity—their education; that we have inherited a life interest—and a life interest only—in vast charitable educational endowments, and that we have allowed those funds to be taken from those for whom they were intended and given to the rich. Let the ratepayers, for they comprise all portions of the population, resolve that in case the hackneyed argument in defence of these civic abuses should be brought forward—that the country is at present in so flourishing a state of prosperity that the

inhabitants of the metropolis have no just reason to object either to the present expenditure or waste of the City—let them still insist on some strong civic reform to the extent at least of effecting a great reduction of the mismanagement, stupidity, and gluttony which at present characterize it.

THE END.



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